THE LIFE AND REIGNE OF King *CHARLS*,

Or the Pſeudo-Martyr diſcovered.

With a late Reply to an Invective Remonſtrance againſt the Parliament and preſent Government:

Together with ſome Animadverſions on the ſtrange contrariety between the late Kings publick Declarations, Proteſtations, Imprecations, and his Pourtracture, compared with his private Letters, and other of his Expreſſes not hitherto taken into common Obſervation.

Iſtud eſt ſapere, non ſolùm ea quæ ante Pedes videre, ſed futura proſpicere. Senecca.

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The Preface:

TO write the Lives of Princes, in another world, and fallen, through their owne frailties, or by the influence of others counſells from the high pitch of Soveraignty (for regality is a ſlippery precipice) in charity may be allowed a faire and favourable memoriall; but for a King falling by the high hand of Juſtice, not for common faults and frailties (incident to humane nature) but preſumptuous ſins, ſins of blood, perfidie, cruelty, rapine, wilfully perpetrated in the face of God and man, and without any remorſe, to

purſue the deſtruction not of one, but three flouriſhing Kingdoms, ſuch deſperate and violent Princes, deſerve no other favour than to be ſet out to the life of their Tyrannous actions; though in pitty to him, who hath already paid his debt to Nature, and his offences, much of his exorbitant government and irregular motions might, and doubtleſſe would have been concealed, more tenderly intreated, and himſelfe ſufferered to reſt where he is, in the ſilent grave, had not that madneſſe of his defeated ſurviving party by their indefatigable inſtigations, given frequent occaſion of raking over the aſhes of him, who living (without injury to truth and his memory it may be ſaid) that rather than to have failed in the accompliſhing of his deſigns, (had it layn in his power) he would have ſet the World on fire. It was an unhappy and ingenious expreſſion of *him, who hath written it, That there were a ſort of men borne to the world, not to ſuffer it to be at reſt; a ſentence

* Balzack.

not

not more true, than made good in this moſt unhappy King, had this been put in addition (neither himſelfe to take his owne reſt, and ſleep (as he could not) quietly and peaceably like other men.)

I am not ignorant what ſenſleſſe maxims and ridiculous principles have gotten credit in the World (as undoubted Oracles indiſputably to be obeyed) as that *de mortuis nil niſi bona*, but by no means to tread on the ſacred Urne of Princes, though living never ſo vicious and exorbitant, as if death had bequeathed unto them a ſuperſedeas for the covering over their faults and licencious reignes, and to cloſe them up in the Coffin of Oblivion, with a *ne plus ultra*, not to admit of the leaſt mention that they had done amiſſe, when many thouſands of oppreſſed and deſolated families muſt ſtand mute, whileſt the malicious partizans of an irregular King, take a liberty to themſelves, to vindicate his indefenſible actions, and not ſo content, but aſperſe and ſcan-

daliſe thoſe that oppoſed him in his cruelties, and likewiſe would perſwade others to adore him for a Saint, and an innocent martyr, whoſe Fathers, Brothers, and Friends, have been moſt barbarouſly ſlain to fulfill the luſt and pleaſure of one wilfull man: if to ſpeake truth in due ſeaſon, or to be the faithfull witneſſe to convey the verity of things paſt to the preſent and after times; be a crime unpardonable, or an injuſtice done to the memory of the dead, the Malignant generation of this age may on the ſame reaſon charge it as a fault on thoſe holy and inſpired pen-men of the ſacred Scriptures, which have recorded and left to after ages the wicked reignes of Kings, leaving an everlaſting ſtaine and taint on their memories; how prophane would it be to tax that holy man (the meekeſt of men) *Moſes*, for leaving to poſterity the fratricide of *Cayne*? the mockery of that wicked *Cam*? what madneſſe to accuſe *Samuel*, and the Authors of the Chronicles of the Kings of *Iuda* and *Iſrael*, in leaving to after ages the

the Tyranny of *Saul*, in murthering at once eighty of Gods prieſts? that preſumptuous ſin and perfidious fact of *David*, in plotting the death of *Vriah*, that he might enjoy his Wife which lay in his boſome? *Rehoboams* Tyrannies? the Cruelties and Idolatries of *Ieroboam*, who ſtands branded, as the Sonne of *Nebat*, which made *Iſrael* to ſin? with what face can it be imputed as an incharity to *Tacitus*, *Livy*, *Florus*, and others of the *Roman* Hiſtorians, for inſerting in their hiſtories, the rape of *Lucretia* by that Tyrant *Tarquin*? the Tyrannies of *Tiberius* and his privado *Seianus*? thoſe of *Nero*, that Monſter of Princes, and the condemnation of him by the Senate? To omit Forraign examples, what offence in reaſon can be charged on *Matthew Paris*, *Hoeden*, Sir *Th. Moor*, *Daniell*, and infinite others, of our owne Hiſtorians, for deſcribing the vices and tyrannies of our owne Kings both ancient and moderne? What injury have they committed in their Regiſters, in ſetting

down

downe that *William* the firſt of our *Norman* Kings, was a known Baſtard of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, an uſurper, and from which ſpurious root all our Kings ſince his uſurpation derive their deified titles, and that moſt of his deſcendants ruled tyrannically, and that amongſt them all King *Iohn* was one of the moſt ſubtill, perſideous and bloody Princes that hiſtory hath afforded? That *Henry* the third his ſonne (admitted by the indulgence of the Barons and People in hopes of his better Government) proved as oppreſſive and bloody to the Nation as any of the reſt: That *Richard* the third in murthering his Brothers ſonnes, and uſurping the Crowne, was more wicked than the worſt?. That *Henry* the ſeventh was the deſcendant of a Baſtard ſonne of *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, begotten on *Catherine Swinford* another mans Wife, thoug legitimated by act of Parliament, yet had no other title to the Crowne but that of his Sword; That ſix of his diſſendants, and of our laſt Princes, claym their rights to the

Crowne

Crowne from his ſpurious ſtock (as if it had been in the fate of the Engliſh Nation, to be perpetually chaind up to the irregular domination of a race of Kings, tranſmitted from one baſtardized roote to another? That *Henry* the eighth was a moſt imperious and bloody prince, the pattern and Idea of all Tyranny, and one that neither ſpared any man in his wrath, or woman in his luſt? That his daughter Queen *Mary* was the ſpurious iſſue begotten on *Catharine* of *Auſtria* his elder brother *Arthurs* Wife, that *Alecto*, ſuperſtitious and bloody Princeſſe; That King *Iames*, and our late King *Charls*, were diſcendants from the ſame Stock of *Henry* of *Richmond*, the one who moſt of all our Kings ſecretly, cunningly, and underhand indeavoured, and laid the plot to undermine the freedoms of the engliſh nation, and King *Charls* to have followed the deſign with more plots, wiles, and ſtratagems, than any of our former Kings, raiſed more treaſure by undue exactions, and ſpilt more innocent blood than all of the *Norman*

Sir Walter Raleigh.

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Norman

Norman Kings before him?

If the premiſſes are evident truths as they cannot be denyed; why then ſhould they be concealed, and wrapt up from the ſight of the world? being ſo pertinent to be left as Looking-glaſſes for their Succeſſours to behold the deformed faces of their Anceſtors ſo fit to be made known to the deluded number of the people, baffled and befool'd with flam's and Fig-leaves? what injury then or injuſtice hath the Parliament done to the Nation, in reſcuing their Liberties out of the hands of a King, which nothing would content, but their Invaſſalage? what have they done more in cutting off him with his Poſterity (to whom he had entayled his deſignes) than neceſſity hath inforc'd them to do, in preſervation of the Nation from that inevitable thralldome, which eminently was like and would have befallen the univerſall people, had they not taken away the Effects by the Cauſe, and by that Law of Neceſſity to which all others are ſubſervient? And have they done

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more than the *Romans* of old have left
th[illegible] preſident, in the caſe of *Tarquinius*,
he[illegible]nd the expulſion of his Poſterity for
ca[illegible]eſſe Tyranny, and to change the
be[illegible]Kingly Government into a Republick,
ki[illegible]ghen as this moſt willfull Prince ſtood
no[illegible] conſtantly fix'd to his depraved
on[illegible]rinciples, that no perſwaſions of a
el[illegible]Court of Parliament, no reaſon but
an[illegible]is will could prevaile, or content him,
re[illegible]ut to be the abſolute Maſter of ſuch
th[illegible]n immenſity of power, as that at
, [illegible]is own time and pleaſure might en-
an[illegible]ble him, not only to deſtroy himſelf,
co[illegible]ut to overpower the whole Kingdom,
na[illegible]which to his uttermoſt he endeavoured,
wi[illegible]nd to wade all over in blood to the
ta[illegible]ccompliſhment, as 'tis moſt manifeſt
na[illegible]y all his actions, and the ſequell of
n o[illegible]is owne ſtory? And have not the
in *SCOTS* on the ſame Reaſons of State,
lik[illegible]n divers preſidents, acted the like on
ver[illegible]heir Kings, when they found them
wa[illegible]perverſe and intractable to any reaſon,
tha[illegible]s 'tis manifeſt in the fatall examples of
he[illegible] *Dardanus* their 20. King from *Fergus*,
on[illegible]n *Romacus* their 36 King, and on *Al-*
nor[illegible]rom

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pinus their 68 King, all three of them beheaded for their Cruelties and Tyrannies; besides twenty more of their Kings, either put to death or deposed for their exorbitant Governments and hath the Parliament in this necessitated change of the late Kingly domination into a Common-wealth done more than the *Hollanders* were compell'd to attempt, and happily accomplisht in the very like case, when all on their many (though fruitlesse) Petitions to *Philip* the second of the invading of their ancient Immunities, and slaughtering of 100000 of the Natives By *Don Alvares de Toledo*, and other of his Vice-Royes, and themselves utterly deprived of all hopes of redresse of their grievances, but only to make head against his Tyranny? This question I take the liberty to move to the most rigid Royalist; by what right, equity, or Law of God or man, is any Nation in the World bound up to such a blind and unnaturall obedience, as to be deprived of self-defence, and to sit still without seeking their own pre-

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ſervations, whilſt an irregular King ſhall either cut their throats, inſlave, or denude them of their Freedomes, when as both Scripture and the Law of Nature and Nations allows it them? and that Royaliſts themſelves, and the moſt learned Juriſts maintain and concur in one joynt opinion, that Subjects in ſuch caſes, both by Gods Law and that of Nature, may defend themſelves, *contra immanem ſævitiem*, againſt barbarous hoſtility, as * *Barclay* confeſſeth, & * *Hugo Grotius* avoucheth it for Law, *ſi Rex hoſtili animo in totius populi exitium feratur, amittit Regnum*, If a King in a hoſtile way ſhall attempt to deſtroy his people, he loſeth his Kingdome, and this ſtands with infallible reaſon; but leaving this Argument as that which already is in the way of deciſion by the ſword, which when we have all ſaid what can be alleged, is the beſt title of all Kings and Commonwealths, and the ſame on which all or moſt of the Kings in the world have founded their powers and Soveraignties; What a ſtrange paſſion then and

* Barclay adver. Monarch. lib. 3. cap. 8.

* Grotius de jure belli & pacis, lib. 1. cap. 4.

and madneſſe poſſeſſes his ſurviving party, which during the life time and height of their maſters power could not with all their united forces, their many plots and continued practices prevaile againſt the Parliament, or enable him to attaine to any peece of his ends, whoſe boundleſſe ambition, lead him (as we may ſafely beleeve) to fight as well againſt Heaven as his own Subjects, and ſaw it not, or would not, but purſued his deſigns ſo long as any power or hopes prompted him to beleeve, that happily in the end he might be the Conquerour, but but miſſing of all his aims, and himſelf in another world, that there ſhould ſtill remain ſo many of his defeated partizans, which out of an old and inbred malice have found out a way (as they vainly conceive) how to be revenged on their Conquerors, (is the wonder of the times) by preſenting his Book, with his picture praying in the Frontiſpiece, purpoſely to catch and amuſe the people, magnifying all his miſdeeds for pious actions, canonizing him

him for a Saint, and idolizing his memory for an innocent Martyr, an imposture without other parallell than that of *Mahomet*; considerations which for the generall satisfaction, and for the better discovery of the truth of all affairs between the King and Parliament, have principally induced me to take (in brief) the true dimensions of this Sainted King and innocent Martyr, and to pull off that false vizzard wherewith his juggling partie hath deckt his Effigies, and presented him to the publick view, for the most pious Prince of this age, that so the people may behold him in his native complexion; true it is some other important reasons have moved me to undertake this task, as having seen the many poor, easie, and beleeving people of this Nation, too long mislead, and cosened out of their understanding by his usuall protestations, which God willing shall be made evidently cleer by the Kings own hand writing, and by the self same artifices wherewith he had so often deluded and prevailed on

the belief of too many of his own party pretending to knowledge above the ordinary rank of the vulgar, other reasons have moved me hereunto, as for satisfaction of some obstinate Royalists to whom I have wisht well, and with whom I have had severall disputes on such particular subjects, as may be seene in the subsequent reply ranckt betweene the breviary of the Kings reign, and the observations of severall of his own Letters and Expresses; and lastly to confute a new sprung up scandall most ungratefully and maliciously raised against the Parliament; *viz. That the present change of the Government both Civill and Ecclesiasticall, the cutting off the King and his Posterity, were Plots and Contrivances of a longer date and standing than this Parliament, though pursued and accomplished by a party yet sitting at* Westminster: this being the scope and method of the whole, I have thought it not impertinent in preparation thereunto here to adjoyn some thing of the place of his birth, and

manner of his breeding; That he was born in *Scotland*, 1600. and remained there untill the ſecond year of his Fathers reigne, needs no further atteſtation; That on the ceaſing of the ſickneſſe 1602 at *London* (for its ominouſly remarkable, that two moſt furious plagues immediately followed the very ingreſſe both of the Father and the Son to their Crowns) under the ſtile and title of Duke of *Yorke*, he was conveyed from *Edenborough* to St. *James's* known to many yet living; That during his Infancy, then fitter for the overſight of the female ſex, than the maſculine, there was ſuch an innated, incorrigible, obduracy, and inflexibility in his nature, that his Nurſes and thoſe Gentlewomen that attended him could very rarely deviſe how to pleaſe him, much leſſe to reclaim that intemperature of his naturall conſtitution; which as the Gentlewomen themſelves have both often related and proteſted, ſo are there yet enough alive which will juſtifie it as a known truth, and of which his mother Queen *Anne* would

often complain, usually calling him her perverse and obstinate Son, and his Brother Prince *HENRY*, not without a prophetical judgement to befall the Kingdome, in case on King *James* his Father and his own decease the Crown should descend on him; God knows and I call him to witnesse that I shall not willingly present a syllable to the prejudice of his memory, otherwise then for truths sake (abused) and the generall satisfaction of such as would be rightly informed thereof, having never had any cause given me to write more or lesse than becomes me in sincerity, confessing that considering the distance I stood in to be a partaker of his secrets, as having been only a poor servant of his Fathers, untill weary of the Court I retired, having seen enough of the vanity thereof, and of both raigns, though on some urgent occasions, in my Addresses to him, I have had the honour of his gracious aspect; and sometimes good words from his own mouth, never any other injury, than in my particular sufferings, involved

volved in the generall calamity proceeding from the late fatall warre, of which I cannot in juſtice excuſe him whoſe ambition and wilfulneſs to rule alone, and without controule of any others than hers, which had too long and imperiouſly overruled him, which the following Animadverſions will more amply manifeſt; Having thus made my Apology, that neither any particular ſpleen or quarrell to his perſon hath incenſed me to write, as in juſtice I ought; I come to his education as he arrived to riper years, under the tutorſhip of Biſhops, and men of that Garbe (known to many who they were) how he was ſeaſoned both in Learning and Religion: Its moſt certain that he attained to ſome competent meaſure of literature (for a Prince) and as I have ſome reaſon to beleeve ſuckt in with the moſt of the Epiſcopall leven, but as to the Religion wherewith afterward he was ſeaſoned, I am confident he was more beholding to his honeſt Secretary Mr. *Murrey*, than to any other of his Prelati-

laticall Tutors, though he after proved (at beſt) a mere formall Proteſtant; an enemy to the Puritan party, and a friend to Biſhops, as proceeding from the inſtructions of his own Father, and the influence of his Prelaticall tetinue; Its a known truth, that in the midſt of that long, fruitleſſe, and reſtleſſe purſute of the old Kings for a marriage with the *Infanta*, Secretary *Murrey* who had then the chiefeſt influence on his Counſells, had privatly diſwaded him from any further thought thereof, as a Match which would neither be well pleaſing to God, acceptable to the generality of the people, or propitious to the Kingdom, in reſpect of the diſparity of their religions, which ſo much wrought upon him, what by the Secretaries owne perſwaſions, and the reading unto him of Mr. *De Molins* Tractate on the 17 of *Deutronomy*, *De Illegitimes Mariages*, that he was altogether averted to marry in any papiſticall family; inſomuch as the old King making diligent inquiry by whoſe infuſions he was ſo much

much alienated from the *Spaniſh* Match, it was at laſt found out to be Mr. *Murreys* workemanſhip, which coſt the honeſt man the loſſe of his place, and expulſion the Court: Howſoever the King out of his reſtleſſe deſire to match his Son in the Houſe of *Auſtria* ſoone turn'd his affection, and ſends him in perſon attended with the Duke of *Buckingham*, privately by the way of *France*, to *Madrid*; where after an expencefull voyage, and to no other purpoſe but to his own diſhonour, and diſgrace to the Prince (after ſix moneths ſtay in *Spain*) he returned to *London*, the 5 of *October* following his going from hence, and about 5 moneths after his arrivall the old King dyed at *Theobalds*, and the Crown deſcended upon him, which anon we ſhall ſee how he managed it: That he had then ſo much applauſe and love of the people in generall, even to a kind of veneration, in the hopes that all men conceived of his future Government is known to thouſands yet living, and that no Prince

ſooner loſt it, is alſo not unknown, moſt men wondering how ſo ſuddenly not only the affections of the people were withdrawn from him, but to fall into the generall obloquy, was held by the wiſeſt a kind of Riddle, not ſuſpecting and indeed then not knowing, or not obſerving the reaſons thereof to have ariſen from his then preſent ſteerage of the Helm, by the only Compaſſe of the old Kings delineation, whereof more hereafter will appear in his carriage at his firſt *Oxford* Parliament; where I muſt give this caution to the Reader, not to value that late impartiall and flattering Author, *Auticus Coquinaria*, neither to give over much credit to King *Iames* his Court, who in ſome particulars ſpeakes much more of truth than the other babler, who with no colour at all of ſincerity and knowledge of thoſe times talks at randome, palpably and ridiculouſly rendring King *Iames* for the only Platonicall, Politick, Peaceable and pious King of his time, a Prince as he would have it beleeved, the Paragon for his

wiſdome

wisdome and care, the fruits whereof no rationall man could ever yet discerne, when the plain truth was, and the right measure of his peaceable reigne was well known to all *Europe*, to be the onely occasion of all the after Wars throughout *Germany*, and the root of all those of his Successors throughout his Dominions, those in *Germany*, to the utter undoing of his Son in Law the Count Palatyne, and all those Princes which assisted him in the Cause of *Bohemia*, whilst himselfe refused, or durst not draw his Sword, through meer fear of offending the *SPANIARD* in the least punctilio, but sate musing at home how to improve his Soveraignty, to devise projects how to raise moneyes to satiate his needy and greedy *Scotch* Courtiers, by privy seals, benevolences, sale of Forrest lands, asserts, woods, and Crowne Lands, and to pick quarrels with his Parliaments, and to entaile them to his heirs Generall; his successor proving no ill scholler in putting in practice his Fathers precepts, and

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for the better invading of the libertyes of the Subjects, to ſuppreſſe Parliaments, which never offended him, but in refuſing to ſupply his prodigalities, when himſelfe had waſted treble the treaſure in an idle Peace, than his predeceſſor the Queen ſpent in a continued and furious War, with the greateſt Prince of Chriſtendome, and yet to leave him the richeſt King of the Weſterne World, which if the plain truth of the affairs of thoſe times may without offence be made manifeſt, were the only frutes of his ſo much magnified and peaceable raigne, for I may in ſincerity ſay it over and over againe, and no other than a knowne truth, that the not drawing of his Sword, in the Count Palatines quarrell, to which he was ſo often importuned, by moſt of the *Germaine* Princes, invited, yea preſt by his own Councell of State, yet would he not, but hindered in what poſſibly he could, thoſe that would and did, to their utter undoing by his many expencefull, and fruitleſſe Embaſſeys, and to the greatning of the

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Austrian Familie, which had long befoold and baffled him even to the deriſion and ſcorne of all the Princes of *Europ*; as to his Juſtice of which the Court Cook tattels, the whole Kingdom can witneſſe, how he meaſured it out, by ſuffering the rigor and uttermoſt penalty of the Law, to fall on the acceſſaries in Sir *Tho. Overburies* caſe, and to take the Principalls into his mercy, tis true (not *Somerſet* into his former favour) yet ſure we are to ſtop his mouth from telling of tales, he gave him at once in pure gift ſo much of the Crowne Lands, as were well worth to be ſold 100000 pounds, though it melted away like wax in the Sun, and himſelfe to dye a ſtark begger, and in infamy, and as to that his moſt excellent chaſt Lady, and Virgin Bride let the ghoſts of Sir *James Stuart*, Sir *George Wharton*, and Prince *Henry* ſpeak, and not him, this is moſt manifeſt, that by divine juſtice, ſhe was knewne to dye living, and of ſo loathſome a diſeaſe, that her own Gentlewomen, have often proteſted it

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before many credible witneſſes, they could not indure the Chamber where ſhe lay, neither ſcarce the next adjacent for the horrible ſtinke that a long time before ſhe expired, iſſued from her carcaſe, and polluted the ayre; I could ſpeak much more of the cariage of that foule buſineſſe, and of others, not pertinent to this place, and ſo can many more perſons of honour yet alive, which will tell the tatler to his face that which he hath either with impudence or out of ignorance publiſhed, are both falſe and abominable adulatious, both in reference to the old King, *Somerſet*, and his Lady, and others of that tribe, Sir *Walter Rawly*, the Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and that of the records, on which he would build the fabrick of his untruths, were known forgeryes of their owne making; and as to the Archbiſhops particular, he comes not near the truth, that honeſt man alone, as it is well knowne, withſtood the King alone and the other Biſhops, in their baſe complyance in that nullity; inſomuch that the King took upon him

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to convince the ſaid Archbiſhop in a treatiſe, dedicated to the unbelieving *Thomas*, yet to be ſeene, paſſages, which as it ſeems, the talking tatler knew not, neither little of truth, which he aſſumes to relate, and howſoever he hath farc't up a Pamphlet, as to the matter (happily his own or not) yet in good manners he might have forborne, to make uſe of another mans phraſe, which in divers places of his relation it appears he hath ſtolen out of the *Fragmenta Regalia*, though varied to the worſe, & by him as much vitiated, as by the printer. But I now both leave him and his theaſt, untill I may have the happineſs to hear further from him, then doubtleſſe I ſhall not faile to give him a fuller anſwer; in the mean time I ſhall adviſe him to remember, *that he which juſtifieth the wicked, and condemneth the juſt, even they both are an abomination to the Lord*, a text that will become both of us, to take into our ſerious conſideration, and as I have good reaſon to believe, beſt of the two befits himſelfe

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to look to, who takes upon him with ſuch palpable flattery to preſent King *James* for ſuch a Saint-like Prince, when as had he either knowne a peece of his life and converſation, or the leaſt of his ſecrets and Counſels (as of thoſe I well know him not to be guilty) ſurely he would have been aſhamed ſo to have written of a King, who left behind ſo little evidence of piety, true Religion, temperance, and care of the Subjects welfare, and ſo much of the ſtructure of abſolute Monarchy to his ſucceſſor, a ſtudy to which he had wholy devoted himſelfe, and left it to his Sonne as an infelicious legacy, and three Kingdoms deſtruction, which were without all queſtion, the fruits and effects of his peaceable reigne. But briefly now to his only Sonne, and the heire of his fathers unhappy peace, and the proſecutor of his owne, his poſterities, and the Kingdomes ruine.

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THE REIGNE OF KING *CHARLS*,

Or the pſeudo-Martyr diſcovered, &c.

KING *CHARLS*, then Prince of *Wales*, began his unfortunate Reigne on the expiration of his Father King *James* at *Theobalds* the 27 of *March* 1627. At his very firſt entry to the Crowne, and after the conſummation of the ceremonies of his Inauguration, and the reception of the Queen from *France*, he

was (as his Father before him at hi acceſſion) driven away from the Metropolis of the Kingdom (*London*) by the increaſe and rage of the Peſtilence, as an ill omen both to the Father and the Sonne, but of a more ominous portent to the three Kingdoms.

A Parliament at that time was ſummoned, and ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, but haſtily adjourned to *Oxford*, on the former reaſon of the increaſe of the Sickneſſe, and a War likewiſe was then in preparation, and in deſign for *Spayn*, as an ill preſage of the after improſperity in all others which this unfortunate Prince undertook; for what in this kinde was ever enterpriſed by him, was both inauſpicious and fatall, loſſe of Honour to himſelfe, reputation and deſtruction to the *Engliſh* Nation.

During the Parliament at *Oxford*, the King by his Speaker, the Lord Keeper *Williams*, moved the Aſſembly for a preſent ſupply of moneys in relation to the intended War, the Parliament in reply to the Kings deſires, as they were to be Contributors to the War

War, ſo they humbly moved to be made partakers of the deſign; this ſo reaſonable a motion was very ill taken, yea ſcorned by the King, for it even then evidently appeared, that he meant to rule alone, and at will and pleaſure. Hence we may obſerve the firſt diſtaſte, or rather indeed a pickt quarrel againſt his firſt Parliament, which ſhews out unto us, on how ſmall, or no cauſe at all, he would be quarrelſome with his Great Councels, and what he would be to all other Parliaments. And the more to ſhew the regret he took at this motion, he commands *Glanvile* a Lawyer, a Gentleman of choice education and elocution, then a Member of that Houſe, to attend the Fleet at *Plymouth*, (as he then ſaid, to let him underſtand what he ſo much deſired to know, as to the deſign) and upon this miſſe abruptly breaks up the Aſſembly without their aſſiſtance, which on all honourable and fitting terms was not denyed him.

The Crown at this time was exceedingly indigent, and indeed ſo beggarly and indebted, that the Royall

Revenues ſuffiſed not to defray the Court expences; yet ſo high and haughty was the Kings heart, that rather than to be beholding to the Parliament, he was reſolved to run any hazard that might befall him, and in the midſt of this extreme neceſſity, ſends Sir *Sackvil Crow* with the Crown jewels (a Gentleman of high eſteem with the Duke of *Buckingham*) to pawn them in the Low-Countreys.

Wiſe men might then well beleeve, that the King could not poſſibly be ſo wanting to himſelf, or ſo poor in treaſure, as to be put on ſo diſhonourable a ſtreight, when as with a good word or two in compliance with the Parliament, he might have had before what in reaſon he would have deſired, and that at that inſtant the major part of the Queens Dowry was received; but the truth was, it was as ſoon ſpent as taken, in the gayety of the *English* Lords, attendants then on the new Queen at *Paris*; where eſpecially the Duke, amongſt others, out vyed all the *French* Lords in the ſumptuouſneſſe of his expences, and bravery of his apparrell;

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ſo that how rich ſoever the Queen and her attendants were then in their Wardrobes, ſure it is, they came home poor enough in purſe to the *Engliſh* Court.

The Queens *French* attendants and dependants of both ſexes being numerous, were doubtleſſe far too many to be maintained with any ordinary expence: She was then not only (in compariſon) a meer child, but childiſh in her carriage, and *A la Francoiſe*, petulant in her comportment; the King was then no more but her Tutor, ſhe his Pupil, what after they both were in relation to each other, and how thoſe offices were inverted, time and a little patience will ſhew, but moſt certain it is, that Madam *Nurſe* (like an other *Philippina* the Cajetan to *Joan* Queen of *Naples*) was both her Oracle and Governeſs, her only attendants, (or better may it be ſaid) her many naſty *French* appurtenances were more in number than ever were known to follow ſuch an Emperours Governeſſe (for ſo ſhe then was to the Queen) and ſuch vermin they were as that

the *English* Ladies (but in reſpect to the Queen) held them to be little better then as Scullions for the Kitchin; yet were theſe the Locuſts which then and a long time after devoured all in the *English* Court, which was at that time with much adoe prodigally maintained at *Salisbury*, whilſt the King and the Lords of his Councell were all to ſeek how to defray his own expences, and the wantonneſs of a Court, promiſcuouſly peſtered, both with domeſtick, forrein, idle, and uſeleſs numbers of both ſexes.

I was then in that Progreſſe, and uſually in the Court, and a ſad witneſſe into what ſtreights the King was reduced, and were it not within the remembrance of many yet alive, the relation might ſeem ſtrange, what in ſo new and greene a Reigne was both attempted, and with boldneſſe put in execution: The prodigality of the Court then ſo much out-went the Royal Revenues, that the Kings Officers and Purveyors had not wherewithall to defray the expence of the King and Queens Tables. The King, to begin the

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ſirſt Preſident of his arbitrary Governmen, ſends for the Farmers of the Cuſtomes, and gaines what poſsibly he could from them, which by reaſon of the ſickneſſe, and damp of Trade at *London*, would then have put backe their contract upon him, however money he had, and would have it of them; but that ſerved not the turn, ſome other courſe muſt be taken for preſent ſupply of the Kings wants; Sir *James Ley* then newly made Earl of *Marlborow* was then Lord Treaſurer, *VVeſton* and *Cottington*, (all new men and of very ſmall beginings) were the men ſhortly after under the Duke, which principally then and after managed the Kings Treaſury, and were thoſe which he had choſen and picked out as fit Miniſters to be employed in his after arbitrary deſignes, yet I am confident none of them all durſt adviſe him for any thing which they found not ſuitable to his inclination. The Kings next project then was, how he might raiſe preſent moneys (for from *London* he could not expect farther ſupplyes, the Merchants and the ableſt Citizens

being fled the City, by reaſon of the rage of the Peſtilence) whereupon he reſolved to take it where he could find it, the City of *Salisbury* a place of ſmall circuit, and of leſs trade, was firſt preſt with a loan of 1000 l. the City of *Briſtol* (as I remember) with 3000 l. which was (by ſome Aldermen of that City ſent to the Court in excuſe of their then preſent diſabilityes) denied, but that ſerved not their turns, for they were preſently laid by the heels, untill the ſaid ſum was ſent unto him; this Preſident being a caveat ſufficient to all other of the Weſtern Cities and Towns to ſend in what ſums were skonced on them; neither would this ſerve the Kings indigency, but he borrowed of all the principall Gentlemen of the Weſt, which were known or conceived to be monyed men: it is moſt evident that even then, and at his firſt acceſſe to the Crowne he ſtood not on terms of love or hatred of his people; for what he intended, it appeared plainly he would do, and what he acted he held it ſufficiently legall, as a piece of his birth-right, and of right belonging

ing to him as a King, without looking into the nature of the *Engliſh* Soveraignty, his will was the law he intended to rule by; as to Parliaments, his meaning as it appears was the ſame with *Lewis* the eleventh of *France*, and in imitation of him to take them down together with their power, as he had opportunity; notwithſtanding ſome few he called, more for the ſupply of his preſent neceſſity, than the good he intended to the publick, and in the future as time ſhould enable him to be his own carver of his Subjects eſtates and fortunes, as that ſhortly after followed.

We have thus laid down in ſincerity the beginnings of this unhappy Reign. Now this peſtilentiall Summer being well ſpent, upon the approach of the Winter, and decreaſe of the Sickneſſe, the King, and the young Queen, with all her *French* train, drawes nearer to the City of *London*, and being ſtill in his wonted predicament of want, in ſupply of the Court expences, be purſues the game he was reſolved to play, for raiſing of Treaſure (without conſent

ſent of Parliament) by arbitrary projects, whereof amongſt many which followed, he begins with that of Knighthood, and calls to account (under colour of an old obſolete Law) all ſuch Gentlemen and others, within the limitation of that Statute, as attended not his Coronation, though by his own Proclamation, he had before forbidden their attendance.

Shortly after comes in to his ſervice Sir *Thomas VVentworth*, who to ſhew what he would be, and how ſerviceable to the Kings deſignes he might be, was imployed into the North, where he rigorouſly levyed a very conſiderable ſumme on the Gentlemen and Yeomen of thoſe parts: *VVeſton* (another of theſe Arbitrary beagles) as an overſeer to the Earle of *Pembroke*, and other Commiſsioners, was imployed into the Weſt; the treaſure which was by this lawleſſe project raiſed being come together, was a very vaſt ſum, but it was as ſoon iſſued as levyed, and ſerved not to defray the moity of the Court expences; inſomuch as being ſtill neceſſitated, very ſhortly there-

thereupon another Parliament was thought fit to be ſummoned, this was no ſooner aſſembled, but the Houſe of Commons on the tenth of *May*, 1626. Charged the Duke of *Buckingham* with the late Kings death, and ſent up their Charge to the Lords; the King being well acquainted therewith, comes into the Peers Houſe, and tels them, that he could be a witneſſe to clear the Duke in evry particular of that charge, and thereupon in terrour to the lower Houſe, by his Warrant under his hand, attacheth and ſendeth to priſon Sir *Dudly Digges*, and Sir *John Elliot*, as thoſe which had the managery of that affair, notwithſtanding the Houſe of Commons having the proofes and examinations in preparation againſt the Duke, the King to make all ſure, and in arreſt of farther proceedings againſt his chief privado, the 15 of *June* following in a great rage diſſolves that Parliament, and on diſ-robing himſelf, ſaid in a very ſtern comportment, That it ſhould be the laſt time he would ever put them on.

And here we may take into obſervation

vation, the lamentable effects of that innated duritie, that naturall obſtinacy and perverſneſſe of the violent will of this moſt unhappy Prince, who in affront and deſpight of the Iuſtice of a Court of Parliament, would not ſuffer his own Fathers death to be called to accompt, or any further examination thereof to be taken for clearing the Duke; But Gods Iudgments may not be areſted, and it is he, that mauger the teeths of all humane powers, will in his own good time bring to light, and to Iudgment, that crying ſinne of Blood; and have we not ſeen this verified, to our amazement? the Duke ſhortly thereupon, to have dyed, by the ſtab of a knife, with no other words or prayers in his mouth, than Gods wounds I am ſlaine; and this moſt unhappy Prince to have ended his dayes at his own Gates, by the axe of Gods juſt judgment, and as we may ſay in fear and trembling, to have taken his leave and laſt farewell of this world with no other acknowledgment of his faults, and of thoſe crying ſinnes of bloodſhed throughout the three Kingdomes

domes, but that of a Pharaſaicall juſtifying of himſelf and his innocency, inſiſting to his laſt, without any repentance or ſenſibilitie of ſo much innocent blood ſpilt through his only willfulneſſe, but only of one wicked * mans, having throughout the whole courſe of the late and lamentable conteſt between him and the Parliament, evermore covered over that ſtubbornneſſe of his naturall inclination with thoſe falſe colours and deluſive umbrages, of his Conſcience, Conſtancy, and Reaſon, as if his Conſcience, by divine appointment, had been the Maſter Conſcience of all the Kingdom, and his Reaſon that *ipſe dixit*, that muſt overballance and regulate the ſenſe and Iudgment of a Court of Parliament.

*The Earl of STRAFFORD.

And have we not ſeen thoſe bold and principall inſtruments of his, whom he imployed in all his arbitrary projects, the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for the enſlaving of the three Kingdoms, condemned to the block as miſleaders of their incorrigible Maſter, and to have taken their leaves of the world in the

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ſame pharaſaicall way of juſtifying their innocency, and without ſo much as one word of the repentant Publican, God be mercifull to me a ſinner? and yet all of them, by the ſeduced Malignant party held ſtill in a kind of veneration, and I know not by what ſtrange deluſion, reputed for innocents and martyrs; would they but look upon them as they were the actors and known fomenters of all the miſeries we have ſuffered, yea the only ingines and inſtruments whereby to have wound up ſoveraignty to the higheſt pitch of Tyranny, and to make their Maſter inſtead of a King over Gentlemen and Freemen, a Tyrant over ſlaves.

But having brought the King and his young Queen neere to the metropolis of the Kingdom, and the ſickneſſe decreaſing, I ſhall in a ſhort narration deſcribe the after deportmeut of this moſt unfortunate prince; Inſtead of Prayers and humiliations to God for his great mercy, in the miraculous ſtay of that raging peſtilence, whereby 3. 4. and 5000 weekly died that ſummer only

only in *London*, the Court notwithſtanding was inſtantly in Iolity, Maſques, Dancings, Playes, and Banquets (all in expencefull and ſumptuous oſtentations) were the frequent and aſſiduall exerciſes of the Court; on the one ſide (as to devotion) the Queene had her Maſſe, and Maſſe-Prieſts, on the other ſide the King with his *Laodicean* luke-warme and fawning Prelates, in a meer formality in ſhew of Godlineſſe, God knowes without the power thereof, and in as neer a complyance one to the other, as poſſibly their different devotion could permit.

And here I muſt not omit, neither exempt out of the ſcene that part which the Biſhops and Prelates acted in this interlude, Comicall we may call it, as to the beginning thereof, but God knowes tragicall enough in the cloſe.

The Biſhops which in the former reigne had for divers reaſons of State been admitted to the old Kings privacies, and had ſpeciall Influence on his Counſells, were likewiſe tranſmitted to the favour and indulgency of this King.

King, but more eſpecially in reference to the Presbytery of *Scotland* ſo averſe to abſolute Soveraignty, ſo much affected by either King, (A Generation of Vipers which on any terms would have eaten the way to preferment through the entrayls of either Church or State) theſe were the men (the better to ingratiate themſelves into the Kings favour) that ſpared not to inſinuat how dangerous the Puritan party here in *England* was (as of a fraternity with the Presbyterians of *Scotland*) & would be (if not timely lookt unto) to the advance of Soveraignty: apprehenſions, which as they ſoon took fire with the father, ſo as much if not more with the ſonne; hence it was that the moſt active of them were admitted either to his favour or Councel of State, but eſpecially Doctor *Laud* the Biſhop of *London*, after Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a perſon of a very ſubtill and winding ſpirit, proud (as one raiſed out of the duſt) haughty and imperious in his place, and as fit an inſtrument for the Kings turne as poſſibly he could choſe out of the 26. Prelates.

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There was alſo about this time (as before is intimated) taken into the Kings favour, or rather brought in by the alurement of preferment, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, whom the King immediately created a Baron, and (on the deceaſe of *Weſton* the Treaſurer) Earl of *Strafford*, a Gentleman of great parts and patrimony; a Common-wealths-man he had been, and one that formerly in all Parliaments as much thwarted, and withſtood the arbitrary power of both Kings, as any one whatſoever; the King having won this Gentleman to be his owne, bethought himſelfe that theſe two (with ſome others of the ſame ſtamp) would be ſufficient to whom to impart his grand deſigns, the one for Church affairs, the other for the State, but both ſuitable to the ends he had in hand; the laſt being of as high, bould, and haughty a ſpirit as he could poſſibly have pickt out of all the nobility: Time will ſhew us, and our own lamentable experience may better demonſtrate, how the one in Church affairs, the other in civill adminiſtrations, be-

haved themſelves, to the after prejudice and deſtruction of the three Kingdoms; But as we have already ſaid in the end to their own ruine and their Maſters.

To leave this digreſsion, we have left the King and Queen at the Court, let us returne where we left them in their different devotions; the truth was, how little care ſoever there was then taken either by the King or his time-ſerving Prelates, of Gods ſervice and true worſhip, otherwiſe than in a formality or ſhew of Godlineſſe, either in the Court or throughout the Kingdom; ſure we are, that the Queenes ſuperſtitious worſhip was ſpecially provided for, and a ſort of Locuſts there were (in addition to her own Chaplins) admitted the Kingdome, ſtyled by the name of Capuchins (but cunning knaves) and for theſe a new Chappell was erected, with an habitation, and large maintenance allowed them, even in the face of the Court, and eye of the Kingdom; and to pleaſe the Queen, Maſſes and Maſſe Prieſts were frequently permitted throughout the Land

not only in a tacite connivence, but in an open way of tolleration, and in contempt of Gods true worſhip.

We may well admit, that the wayes which the King then took could not be welpleaſing to him, which was never yet pleaſed with an Idolatrous, mixt, and halfe-fac'd worſhip; or that the gayety and wantonneſſe of a promiſcuous Court, could be maintained without an exceſſive charge; neither that a perfidious ſhew and offer of warre with *France* in the defence of the *French* Proteſtants, would in the concluſion be well thought of either from abroad or at home, when the King during the treaty of the marriage with the Queen, on the earneſt requeſt of the princes of the Religion, had engaged himſelf to protect them, and to raiſe the ſiedge then before the Town of *Rochell*, neither that feigned preparation which the King made by ſea in their aſſiſtance will in time come to light; when evident it was afterwards to all the World, that in ſtead of defending them, they were not onely ſlaughtered at Sea by the Kings ſhip-

ping, but by plain Treachery both their Cauſe undone, and their force defeated by Land; a ſinne, which God in his juſtice could not paſſe over unpuniſhed, yet carryed on in ſuch a myſticall way; & in that attempt on the Iſle of *Rea*, to the loſſe of ho nour and blood of ſome of the bra veſt men of the Nation; informed that the World to this very day hath been held in ſuſpence, to what Religi on the King himſelf ſtood moſt incli ned; or whether the Father or the So which with ſuch ardency ſought th Alliance of *Spaine* and *France*, (o elſe no where) Families, if not inn ſtous, yet of Idolatrous and Superſti cious Religions, which hath left th world in another amaze, and in a puz zle to find out ethers inclination, whether to any Religion devoted, it be rightly conſidered, as eithe Prince made and continued their ſe cret addreſſes to the Apoſtolick ſee and that his Holineſſe in both reig had his Agents and Nuntioes here re dent (reciprocally and in interchan of the Kings Agents at *Rome*) ma

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clandeſtine conferences both with the King and Queene, and the ſtate of the Proteſtant Religion here, (howſoever openly profeſt by both Kings) reduced to the next ſtep of conformity with *Rome*; when as that fordid and baſe complyance of the Biſhops and Court-Clergy, which if grace (more than hopes of preferment) had prevailed with them might have been a Remora or ſtay to either King, and to have told them plainly how dangerous it was to their well-being, if they attempted to make Religion the ſtalking-horſe to their irregular deſigns, and to bethink themſelves that God was not to be deluded, and how unſafe it would be for them *Ludere cum ſanctis*; But theſe were the men who even from the beginning of both reigns, had only ſtudied the inclinations of theſe Princes, and rather took upon them to comply and incourage them than to have withſtood either of them in the leaſt of their many irregularities, & looſneſs in Religion; & ſuch was the baſeneſſe of theſe fawning Sycophants, that the common theams of the Court

Pulpits, throughout both reigns, were purpoſely pickt out whereon to draw concluſions and doctrines of arbitrary power, which was the uſuall ladder moſt of them clim'd to preferment; whence alſo we may obſerve Gods judgments, both to have been ſhortly after powred out on the perſons themſelves and their functions, in their extirpation, and totall irradication of them, without hopes of their reſtauration.

Hitherto we have deduced the Hiſtory of this unfortunate Prince to the 3d. year of his Reign; we ſhall now runne over the reſt with as much brevity as the nature of the ſubject will permit.

The King at this time was in his wonted condition of want, as his Father before him ever was, ſo would he be in the ſame predicament: Two millions of annuall Treaſure or very neer, could not ſerve their turns, neither would content them, though in *Scotl.* 50000 *per annum* was more than ever King *James* could poſſibly raiſe, without the aſſiſtance of the Eſtates aſſembled. W

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may ſee the difference, and what operations change of Clymates can worke upon the nature of Princes comming out of poor Kingdomes into richer, and with what Conſcience they could diſpence the care of their own ſouls, to become as ſpunges to ſuck up the fruits of the poor paſſive people of *England*, gained out of the labour of their hands and ſweat of their browes, when they had enough, and more than ever any of the Kings of *England* did raiſe, and in retribution of their love and loyalty towards them, as by divers manifeſtations may be made appeare, with how many ſlights and wyles, with how much care, trouble and vexation of ſpirit, with what expence of blood and treaſure did this King labor to inſlave the Engliſh Nation, and to reduce the poor people (as naturalized vaſſalls) under the bondage of his lawleſſe will and luſt? Can we make any other Comment on this ſubject, but that which wiſe men have long ſince obſerved, that theſe two Princes never loved the *Engliſh* Nation, but in an *odium altiſſimum*, had aforehand

deſigned to oppreſſe them, and utterly to extinguiſh the memory of their ancient Freedoms? and can we imagine they intended otherwiſe, by the whole courſe of their Government? When it appears what favours, what large conceſſions, and with what complyance and commiſeration the late King took care of the *Iriſh Rebells*, without the leaſt retroſpect how much *Engliſh* bloud had been moſt barbarouſly ſpilt by them (if he were not conſcious that no man was more guilty thereof than himſelf) ſurely it may well amuſe the world, why he ſhould be ſo pitifull and ſolicitous to have them ſpared, and to brand the Parliament with cruelty for purſuing ſo juſt a revenge. If we look Northward, and examine what Favours, Privileges, and Countyes were without asking offered to be conferr'd on the *Scots*, 1641. as he went unto them, on the onely conditions that they would engage with him againſt the *Engliſh* Parliament. On theſe conſiderations, can it ſink into any rationall mans conception, but that he was an inexorable enemy to the Natio

Nation? kinde to his own (if they would have ſerved his turn) and an indeered Friend to thoſe bloudy *Iriſh*, and that on all opportunities his intent was to ruine and invaſſalate the *Engliſh* Nation, though he and his periſhed, (as they did) in the attempt.

But to return to our relation. The King was now in the fifth yeare of his Reign, and notwithſtanding the many wayes by which he had raiſed no ſmall treaſure, yet was he ſtill indigent and bare in money, the Court and the *French* ſpent it before it came in, and as to any ſupply by Parliament, it ſuited neither to the Kings good liking, or his grand deſigne; the diſcontinuance of Parliaments conduced more to the advance of what he intended to raiſe by power, than he could expect by the ayde of Parliament, ſince he had but even then cloſed up all ruptures with *France* and *Spain*, and no War in being or in expectation, and conſequently no ground left him that might preſſe or induce a Court of Parliament to be over-liberall with the purſes of their Electors; yet in this exigent and ſtreight he

he ſuddenly reſolves to call a Parliament, where amongſt many paſſages and debates, *Finch* the Speaker of the lower houſe, plaid his firſt priſe, in his aſſiduall diſcloſing to the King whatſoever paſt in the Houſe; inſomuch as being diſcovered, and on his uſuall moving out of his Chair and the Houſe, he was at length withſtood at the doot by divers bold Gentlemen and Members of the Parliament, and inforced to keep his ſeat; this miſcarriage was inſtantly made known to the King, who took it as an affront done to his own perſon, and preſently hereupon he not only diſſolves the Parliament, but commits to the Tower, *Hammond* and *Hubbard*, Knights, *Long*, *Curreton*, and ſome others of the Members; Neither could he be a long time pacified by the Lords of his Councell (on the firſt hearing of this broil) but needs he would with his guard have then fallen upon them in the houſe (as a preſage of that violence which he offered after to this Aſſembly in his owne perſon;) upon the inſtant of this diſſolution of the Parliament, he publiſheth

liſheth a Proclamation, prohibiting the people not ſo much as to talk of more Parliaments, and injoyn'd the Lords of his Councell, on any conditions not to mention the word Parliament unto him; a leſſon which they all for ten years together at leaſt punctually obſerved; inſomuch as all wiſe men then conjectured, that the Liberties of the Kingdom were then buried together in the interment of all Parliaments. Ten if not more years paſt between this Parliament, and the diſſolution of that *quinto Maij*, 1639. during this intervall; the King begins roundly with all ſorts of projects, and to raiſe mony both without the leaves of the Subjects, and againſt the known Lawes of the Kingdome; privy Seals and Loans were the firſt which he put in execution, as a Tax (if we may ſo call them) that concerned not ſo much the Subject in generall, as private, reputed moneyed men; other levies had likewiſe their courſe in their torns; and in policy not to ruſh in, and too haſtily on the ſubjects propriety, he falls on the ſale of the Crown lands in Feefarm,

with

with the old rents, or thoſe doubled reſerved to the Exchequer; neither could all theſe projects, though amounting to a very vaſt ſum, ſerve to defray the waſtefullneſſe of the Court which indeed as to his own ſide, was in ſome proportion of moderation, yet on the Queens ſide it was ſo exceſſively profuſe, that I aver it on knowledge (beſides her Joynture) (then newly conſigned) one hundred thouſand pound *Per Annum* ſufficed not for to defray her own expences, and confident I am, what by ſuites procured by her ſolicitation, as much more was yearly drayned out of the Kings purſe to ſatisfie that naſty trayn of her *French* followers; Madam *Nurſe*, as to her own particular, beſides an expencefull way of living here, at the Kings charge, was well known to have tranſported at ſeveral times into *France* 100000 pound, in good gold; and certaine it is, that that Pigmy Mountebanck (*Mountague*) the Queens dancing Maſter, not worth one groat at his coming over, inricht himſelf to the leaſt value of 40000 pound; it

would

would be wearisome to recount what summes her Priests and Jesuits, Musitians, Fidlers, and others of her retinue got and amassed by her onely sute to the King, who then denyed her nothing that she desired; for it is most true, that before she attained the age of twenty years, she began of a Pupill to be the Kings Regent, and the after-story will assure it, she became a fatall participant with him in most of his Counsells, and his directrix in the Government, but after her Mothers arivall both of them to have gained an interest in his inmost secrets and principall transactions of State; an evident truth, and more than stood with the Kings honour, much less than suited with the welfare of the Nation.

These prodigall expences at Court could not choose but impoverish the Kings exchequer, whether very little of the Royall Revenue arrived, as commonly prevented aforehand by assignations to one or other of the Courtiers, hence followed the multiplicity of Monopolies, the ingrossing of all the Pouder into the Kings store,

and

and that to be no otherwiſe vendible but at double rates, to the former and uſuall priſes; In order to theſe followed the preemption of all Tobacoes, to the extreme beggering of the adventurers and planters in the Weſt-Indian Iſlands; Coat and Conduct money had likewiſe it's turne, and by degrees the Kings Pattents incircuited and extended to Salt, Butter, Sope, Leather, Wine, Sugar, Allum, Seacoale, Malt, Cards and Dice, and what not.

In order to theſe, that notable project of ſhipmoney, a device of *Finches* invention, and ſhaped for the nonce ſuitable to the Kings deſigns, it extenden to ſuch a latitude, as that by this one illegall power he might rayſe moneys in what proportion he would, where and when he pleaſed, without Parliaments, and ſo was it ſtated by the terrour which that fluttering bird *Finch* impreſt on the Judges to declare it legall, by their extrajudiciall ſentences, though (for their honour be it ſpoken) three of them as *Crook*, *Hutton*, and *Denham* withſtood it as a moſt il legall

and

and unheard-of taxation againſt and deſtructive to the fundamentall Lawes of the Land, and Liberties of the People.

We ſhall now paſſe it over, though it was an invention which of it ſelfe would require a ſtory not unworthy to be left to poſterity; how ever, as long as it was on foot the King made uſe of it to the purpoſe, and in two if not three yeares whileſt it was put in practice, raiſed not ſo little at 1000000 of poundes.

It is without queſtion that what by monopolies, the inhancing of the Cuſtomes and Rate Books, Knighthood money, and projects of this nature, as the Fines in the Star-Chamber, High Commiſſion, and depopulations, with the ſale of the Crowne Lands, beſides Subſidies, and the Royall ſtanding Revenue, with divers other incomes moſt oppreſſive to the people, the King within the ſpace of ten or twelve years raiſed more Treaſure than any two of his Predeceſſors in fourty years, and yet none of our Kings had leſſe occaſion, and this

this King more wanting, as havi
for twelve years together no warr
conſiderable, neither any in expecta
tion, more than ſuch as wilfully an
moſt unjuſtly he undertook about th
15th. year of his reign againſt the *Scot*
and that to no other end, but to ad
vance his grand deſigne of invaſſalatin
the 3. Kingdomes; as hereafter mor
evidently may be made to appear.

The King having thus far waded in
to the depth of his arbitrary ſtrains
to the great regret of the people, and
having for ten or twelve years togethe
laid aſide all thoughts of making uſe o
Parliament, which might controule ſo
many of his illegall and irregular ex
actions, in farther advance of hi
grand deſigne, both to rule, and raiſ
money at will and pleaſure, having by
ſo long a tract of time taught the peo
ple to forget Parliaments, or not to
hope for them, and as he conceived
well to have forwarded his greate
work by the experience he had made o
the paſſiveneſſe both of his *Engli*
and *Iriſh* Subjects, by the activity o
his chief Inſtruments, *Strafford*, *A*
terbur

terbury, and *Cottington*, which principally then carried on the design in either Kingdom, both in the Church and State, which by time and degrees had so amated the spirits of the people, as they seemed patiently to bear (though unwillingly, and not without some publike murmuration) what loads might in the future be laid upon them, but evermore (in the midst of their resentments) to cast the *odium* of their oppressions rather on the Kings ministers than on himself, with the retention of a reverent esteem towards him, as the least author of their sufferings, when as himself alone was principall, which invited him with the more boldnesse, and lesse fear, to the perfecting and speedy accomplishment of his mayn designe.

We may in the way of our relation avouch it, and that for truth, that both the Father and the Sonne were the most careless Courtiers of their people of any of our Kings, and as regardless of the love and reverent esteem the universall Nation carried towards them; an inexcusable error, and

ſhewes out unto us what in probabili-
ty were and would be the iſſues of thei
Ingratitude. We all know, that po-
pularity in private perſons, and the ap-
plauſe of the people, are the ingredient
of ſuſpition, and an errour which al wi
and cunning Statiſts ſhun and avoid
as tending to obſcure the worth an
dignity of their Maſter, but in Prin-
ces it is a Vertue, that moſt of all othe
their deportments takes moſt and ſoo
neſt in the peoples affections; we ma
boldly ſay it, that neither of theſe tw
Princes were ever guilty of that attra-
ctive Vertue, onely it hath beene ſinc
obſerved, that at his comming out
Scotl. 1641. he was very prodigall i
putting off his hat, as he paſt the ſtreet

But omitting Paraphraſes, we hav
but even now ſaid it, that as to th
Queens ſide in Court it was exceſſive
profuſe, the Kings more moderate
yet not ſo frugall, but that the
were a ſort about his perſon to who
he participated his ſecrets, and com-
mitted the managery of his arbitra
worke, which did ſufficiently lick th
fingers: We ſhall omit the Duke,
he died within two years of the Ki
acc

acceſſe, *Digby* and *Cottington*, which in the former reign had laid the foundations of their after greatneſſe; but they which in this reign, (and in the midſt of the Kings neceſſities) ſpent laviſhly, lived at high rates, and amaſſed moſt, were *VVeſton* the Treaſurer, *Mancheſter*, *Strafford*, *Goring*, and the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, neither did the farmers of the Cuſtoms go away empty handed, yet we may ſee, that as all or moſt of theſe had a time of getting and filching from the Crown, ſo likewiſe did their Maſter in the end adminiſter a ſad occaſion, to rid moſt of them of their ill-gotten gains.

Having thus brought the King to the 15th. year of his moſt unhappy reign, and ſhewed out by what means, wayes and inſtruments he raiſed monyes to ſupply his neceſſities, and prodigallities of the Court; what hitherto he acted, was in calme and peaceable times, though not without murmuration; We ſhall anon come to the hoſtile, that fatall and ſanguinary part of his unfortunate reigne. He had hitherto led on his deſigne in a fore-game, yet ſtill

in his wonted way of want, the Queen-mother arriving, holp on his expences, *Strafford*, the Archbiſhop, and *Cotington*, as the Kings prime agents had fitted all neceſſaries in a readineſſe; both the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* patient in what formerly they had ſuffered, and ready to be ridden and ſpur'd to the quick; the mode of the *French* Goverment being ſtil in the eye of the Kings deſign (as left unto him by his Fathers legacy) and now again revived and quickned by the Queen Mothers inſtigation, a Lady fatall to all places whereſoever ſhe reſided; *Strafford* having raiſed in *Ireland* an Army of Papiſts, to helpe on, and at a deah lift: and about this time there were divers Commiſſions iſſued out to certain Lords and Gentlemen, with power to impoſe new and unheard-of Impoſts on all the commodities of the Land, and in addition to theſe, Commiſſions were granted to the Earl of *Arundell* to take the military charge of the Northern parts into his hands, another to the Earle of *Worceſter* to raiſe an army of Papiſts in *Wales*, as it is well known, to maſter the

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Weſt marches & to aſſiſt the *Iriſh* Army landing at *Milford* as need ſhould require; and the Preſident my Lord of *Bridgewater* commanded to wave that place for his Majeſties ſpeciall ſervice, a perſon as it ſeems, that was too honeſt to be wrought upon: At the ſame time his Lordſhip *Cottington* was likewiſe made Lord Warden of the Tower, with authority to take in Souldiers, and to fortifie that piece, which accordingly was put in execution, and the White-Tower planted with many great Ordnance, with their mouths forced againſt the City, to the great amazement of the Citizens and the whole Kingdom. What the King meant or intended by theſe irregular and prodigious acts of his, let the moſt willfull Malignant make his own judgement, when as the whole Kingdom was never in a greater calme of peace, loyalty and quietneſſe, or in any appearance of inſurrection. The Exciſe at that inſtant was likewiſe in agitation, and the very ſame houſe, wherein now that office is erected in *Broadſtreet* taken by *Cottington* to the ſame purpoſe, and *Strafford* much a-

about that time diſpatcht into *Ireland*, there to call a Parliament for aſſiſtance in relation to the intended *Scotch* War, where he muſters a new the Iriſh army, gets four Subſidies, & preſently returns for *Engl.* where a Parl. for the ſame end was likewiſe ſummoned; not any thing now ſtood as Remora, in the way of the Kings great deſigne, but thoſe refractory *Scots*, this was the block that in the firſt place muſt be removed; to begin this work of darkneſſe, firſt fomented by the Biſhops, eſpecially *Canterbury* here, and that pragmattick Prelat of *Scotland*, *Maxwell*; with *Hamilton* and *Traquair* on the by. Theſe two aſſiſted by *Strafford*, had the whole managery of that affair.

We muſt not too much inſiſt on every particular, this *Scotch* work alone requiring a volume to derive it from its firſt fountain and originall, as a project of the old Kings, to introduce the Epiſcopal power and Church Government there conformable to that of *England*, and to ſuppreſſe or maſter that of the Kirk & Presbyterian power, as the only obſtruction to abſolute Soveraignty. God

Gods providence and his wayes are inſearchable, and the carriage of this work of darkneſſe is very remarkeable, it hath left the world in a maze how the Kings deſigns by this Scotch enterprize ſhould turne and overthrow the whole frame and fabrick of all his former projections, and of ſo faire a fore-game, ſo to bring it about, as on the very nick of the accompliſhment, to loſe both it, his repntation and life, and at a time when all wiſe men had given the freedoms of the *Engliſh* nation utterly loſt, and meerly by the wilfulneſſe of his own irregular motions, more beloved, reverenced and obeyed, than any of his Predeceſſors.

The ſtate of the three Kingdomes, as aboveſaid, but a little before this Scotch enterpriſe (as to a any Warre from abroad, mutinies and inſurrections at home) was well known to be in as great a calme of Peace and quietneſſe as in any reign ſince the Conqueſt, the ſubject paſſive, loyall and obedient to the Kings will and pleaſure, himſelf at peace and amity with

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all his Allyes, Confederates, and Neighbour-Princes; nothing could be Imagined to have troubled him but his own ambition, and thoſe reſtleſſe appetites of his which would not ſuffer him to enjoy content in the mid'ſt of proſperity, and to reſt ſatisfied in the fruition of more abundance than ever any King of *England* attain'd unto; In this *requiem* (could he have ſeen it) was his ſoule reſtleſſe, and as we may of truth ſay, by no inſtigation more troubled than by hers which had the honour of his Bed; an unhappy unquietneſſe which his principall privadoes rather added fewell to the fire thereof than water to quench it; they had ſtudied his inclination, which was the rule they walkt by, not how to apply wholſome medicines to cure the raging malady of his ambition, which by none was more cheriſh'd than by the Biſhops and his formal clergy, in the way wherein his will and luſt had predominance over his reaſon, ſuch as had not only taken the ſame fiery infection but as much laboured therein, as himſelf, whoſe function and office (if great

bad guided them) it properly was rather to have applyed antidotes than venome to their Maſters diſeaſe, and to have told him plainly where the fault lay.

But to returne to the relation of this Scotch enterpriſe ; the King as before is intimated, through meer neceſſity was induced to call a Parliament (not to reforme abuſes crept into the Common-wealth (better it may be ſaid violently introduced through his ill Government and diſcontinuance of Parliaments, the ancient remedies of publick grievances) but to ſupply his own wants in reference to the war intended; the Kings wants being more preſſing than ever, the ſervauts of his own ſide in Court a good ſpace before debard of th. ir Wages, purpoſely to ſcrape up moneys towards this needleſſe Warre; the Queens Servants on the other ſide were notwithſtanding exactly paid.

It would be ſuperfluous and impertinent to deſcribe the whole ſtory of this deſigne, ſo obvious and generally knowne to all the Kingdom; how firſt this affair was carryed on by ſending

ding a new Litturgy to EDINBVRGH as an experiment how the Scots would ſwallow the firſt bayt to their inthraldome; how there the Litturgy was reſented, and with what after diſguſts it was not only refuſed but deteſted, How that *Traquire* and *Hamilton* one after the other were Commiſſioned with power & inſtructions to inforce their conformity; what Flames, Invectives, and Comments flew here abroad of the Biſhops penning of their Rebellion; how againe the Scots ſtood upon their punctillioes, in defence of themſelves and their Covenant againſt this innovation; how many Petitions and Meſſages paſt between them and the King; how at laſt on diſpute between their Commiſſioners and his Majeſties, at their firſt Treaty in the North, and the averſneſſe of the Kings ſouldiers to imbrace the quarrel, the King granted them his royall Paſcification, and ſent them home well ſatisfied; how againe on his Majeſties returne, his act of Paſcification was here in Court reſented, by the Queen and the Biſhops, and with what Lan-

guage

guage the King was affronted to have brought home a diſhonourable Peace, and obſtructive to his own deſignes; how then this needleſſe and willfull quarrell was revived, and the Kings Pacification vilified and burnt by the hands of the common Hangman, and the King eaſily brought on anew to muſter a ſecond Army, to ſubdue thoſe ſtubborn and rebellious *Scots*, as generally then, eſpecially by the Biſhops they were ſtiled: when as by the Free-quarter of his firſt Army, moſt parts of the County of *York* were beggered and the Soldiery unpaid, how the Parliament and generally the people abhor'd this war, and refuſed to contribute towards it, how thereupon *quixto Maij* 1649. it was ſuddenly diſſolved, how on the very ſame day the Cabinet Councell ſate in cloſe conſultation at *White-Hall* how to raiſe moneys to defray the charge of this ſecond war, how that Paper (the reſults of that Councell) after (ſtiled, The Juncto) came to be preſerved by the means of Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, and Mr. *Pym*, who imparted it the enſuing Parliament, as

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the ſtar which guided them to know the authors and projectors of this & other wilfull deſignes; what preparations the *Scots* made to defend themſelves, and how with a puiſſant Army they firſt entred the Kingdom under the Command of *Leſley*, who made his way by force, with ſome loſſe of blood on both ſides at *Newburn*, and after that marched peaceably to *Newcaſtle*, which he fortifyed, and from thence ſent a Petition in the name of the whole Nation to the King, that their cauſe might be heard, before more bloud ſhould be drawn, which before was utterly denied them, with contemptuous acerbity. The particulars whereof ſhall God willing in all ſincerity be anon amply declared, together with ſuch diſcoveries as are not yet publikely known, and ſo particularly manifeſted in many points, as in the following Reply and Animadverſions may appear, both for the generall ſatisfaction, and ſuch Royaliſts to whom I have heartily addreſt them, as well for their own converſion, as alſo in vindication and farther manifeſtation of Truth, and to the everla-

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ſting honour of this Parliament, whom God hath viſibly enabled with courage both to foreſee and withſtand the violences of a Prince, who in all his Expreſſes, Proteſtations, and overtures for Peace and Accommodation with the Parliament, were inſeparably accompanyed with diſſemblings, fraud, wiles and reſervations, may be further manifeſted by the evident proofs of his Letters under his own hand writing, his Commiſſions, Miſſives, and many other authentick Teſtimonies, though many of them noted, and long ſince expoſed and ſet out to the world, and anſwered in the Parliaments Declarations, eſpecially manifeſted in that of No more Addreſſes; yet not ſo vulgarly ſeen, as they may be on a more exact veiw, and a diligent peruſall, and comparing the Kings publick expreſſes with his private practiſes, as may apparently be ſeen by any that wil but take the pains either to read them in his own Character, or mine.

Whence ariſeth the great wonder of the times, how, and with what face, either the King himſelfe living ſhould

with

with ſuch boldneſſe ſtand on his juſtifi-
cation, or that any ſince his death (in-
dued with common ſenſe and reaſon)
can have the Impudence to defend him
dead, who living ſo willfully, fraudu-
lently, and obſtinately perſevered in
purſuance of his own luſtfull and perni-
tious deſignes, in invaſſalating the poor
people, which, untill himſelfe gave
and proſecuted the occaſion of the
falling from him, and were inforced to
withſtand his violent courſes, was more
beloved, honoured, and obeyed than
any of our Kings. A Prince that ra-
ſed and waſted more Treaſure, wilfully
ſpilt more Innocent blood, devaſted
more the lands and habitations of his
Subjects, ruined more families, and
more imbroyled three flouriſhing King-
doms, than all of his Progenitors; and
yet for all theſe his prodigious cruelties
and mildemeanors to be inſhrined
(dead) for a martyr, both alive and
dead adored for a Saint.

We ſhal now cloſe up the firſt part of
our Breviary, as it relates to his reign,
deſigns before he erected his Standard
the manner & managery of the hoſt

part of his life (though both long ſince ſufficiently known, and felt by many thouſands of the poor innocent people of three Kingdomes, yet for avoiding of repetitions and ſome other motives) I have taken the leave to inſert a ſhort deſcription thereof in the ſubſequent reply; leaving out the manner of his arraignment by his Judges, all of them to be adjudg'd a new at the great Tribunnall of the King of Kings, whether the one (as his Vice-gerent) hath ruled and judged the people committe d to his protection for their defence, and hath dealt uprightly with them, or not, and whether the others (as ordained by divine providence to do juſtice on him for his cruelties) have condemned this King for his Tyranny and unrighteous dealing with three nations, to whoſe juſtice, in feare and trembling we muſt all ſubmit.

Where we may with good reaſon make this Quære, Whether the cutting off of our bloody and blood-thirſty Prince, together with the excluſion of his whole poſterity, can be a ſufficient expiation in the eye of heaven, for the blood

blood of a million of poor innocent ſoules ſlaughtered for the ſatiating of one Princes luſtfull will and pleaſure, ſince he that repents not hath ſaid it, that the Land ſhall not be clenſed until the blood of one murtherer be ſhed, this we may ſay and ſafely believe, that Almighty God (for the ſins of the Nations) in his wrath and juſt indignation, ſent this moſt unhappy King (as his rod of judgement) to reign over us, and in his juſtice hath likewiſe burnt it, and brought that fatall end upon him, and his Fathers houſe, according to his owne and often Imprecations: We ſhall conclude this firſt ſcene of our Narrative with the Kingdoms fate:

Iratus Deus dedit ijs Regem.

The Authors reply to an invective Remonſtrance againſt the Parliament and preſent Government, wherein the whole managery of the late War is exactly deſcribed.

SIR,

HAving diligently peruſed the replication you ſent me, I perceive that you are no changeling, but one and the ſelf-ſame man in your opinion, both in juſtifying the late Kings Actions, and in aſperſing the Parliament with rayſing the late War againſt him, as a premeditated Plot long ſince hatch't by a factious party amongſt them, and to change the Government, and pull up Monarchy and Epiſcopacy by the roots; Strange Chimæras indeed, that

dropt lately out of the Clouds and Va-
pours of your own and your partie
gyddy-braines; neither doe you re
there, but you proceed to charge thos
which now ſit at *Weſtminſter* with ma-
ny other fowle Calumnies; to all which
in their proper place I ſhall not faile
to give you a particular anſwer; though
I could have wiſht, that you had fix
your cogitations on ſome other ſubject
ſuitable to truth, and the ingenuity
you pretend unto, and not after
ten years revolution of time to fall flat
on a meer ſuggeſtion of your owne
without any other proof than a bare
allegatiou, and that ſo deſtitute of
poſſibility, either of thought or intent
in the Parliament to effect, as that the
affirmation ſeems to me a meer malici-
ous fiction of your own rather than a
ſimple verity, and ſo unbecoming a
Gentleman of your quality, as that
in plainneſſe I take the boldneſſe to tell
you, you might on better reaſon with
Copernicus his Diſciples, have aver'd
another world to be in the Moon, than
to have deviſed and broached ſo vain
and ſenſeleſſe an untruth; But ſince
mor

more of your will than chance, to fall on ſo groundleſſe a fable and on a theam ſo old and over-worne; might I have adviſed, you ſhould have turn'd your tone (which would have been much more for your honour) and aver'd, that the King, even from the very firſt entrance of his reigne (anſwerable to his Fathers inſtructions) began his arbitrary worke, and in purſuance thereof had laid ſundry deſtructive and darke plots, how to invaſſalate the three Nations, and by degrees to reduce them all under one Intire, arbitrary and abſolute ſoveraignty; and when they took not the effect he deſired, being diſcovered and oppoſed by this Parliament, then to ſet up his Standard, and array the poore people againſt themſelves, which never any King of *England* durſt attempt, otherwiſe than by publick conſent, and againſt a forraigne enemy, and at laſt to wage open Warre againſt his owne ſubjects, and the repreſentative of the Nation, Plundering, Fyring, and deſolating the Kingdom to the utmoſt of his power; had you avouched thus much

much, you had hit on the right, an
ſhewed your ſelfe both a friend t
truth and your Country; but it ſeem
you ſtill ſtand cloſe to your old de
ſtructive principles, as at firſt you ſt
ded with the King living, ſo dead yo
perſiſt to make good his cauſe, whe
ther right or wrong it mattered no
much, with moſt of your party
the truth is, how good or bad ſoeve
his cauſe was, it was the bare nam
of a King and hopes of preferme
which drew your Iron into the field
and tis the very ſame at preſent whi
invites all of you to flatter and footh
your ſelves with the empty name
Loyalty to bring in the new Crown
King of *Scots* on the old ſcore, witho
looking to the preſervation of the L
berty of your Country, and proprieti
of your own poſterity and the ſad co
ſequence thereof, as if the publick int
reſt ought to be given up, for t
fulfilling of your deſires, and of o
mans wilfull pleaſure, a ſtrange d
rage that hath poſſeſt you, and m
ſtrange it is, that you ſhould now
a freſh on a ſubject that loathes

man of ingenuity to think on it, much more to treat on a theam ſo ſtale, were it but in reference to the memory of him who is at reſt: But ſince I find that a kind of confidence poſſeſſes your intellectuals, that all your allegations are unanſwerable, and that your provocations amounts to a challenge, the fault muſt be yours not mine, If in vindication of truth, I lay open the groſsneſſe of all your errors, in the manifeſtation of his which with ſuch eagerneſſe and confidence you think your ſelf able to defend being forced through your importunity, and the nature of the taske you put upon me, to run over the whole progres and managery of all the late Kings deſigns, viſible and long ſince very well knowne to all men of common underſtanding; though I confeſſe, I do not much marvell that your ſelfe (amongſt the reſt of the facill beliefe) have been deceived by the Kings woonted and plauſible proteſtations, eſpecially as he handled the matter, in the cunning and umbragious carrying on of all his cloſe and hidden deſigns: for I very

well know many knowing Gentlemen which have had a long conflict with themſelves, what judgment to make on the firſt difference ariſing between the King and Parliament, his Majeſty ſo often proteſting, how much he intended the welfare of all his ſubjects, how unwilling to embrew the Kingdom with blood, how willing to embrace and conſerve the peace of the Land, how reſolved to maintaine the true Proteſtant Religion, how carefull and ſtudious to uphold the Lawes and Liberties of the People, how ready to preſerve inviolable the privileges of Parliaments, and how forward to ſupply his diſtreſſed Proteſtant Subjects in Ireland; all which (as a Copy of his counterfeit Countenance) he ſo often proteſted, and confirmed with Imprecations, that truely the ſpirits of many wiſe men were amazed and long time ſtood ſtaggering what to believe in the caſe, and doubtfull whether the Kings cauſe or the Parliament was moſt juſt, which party gave the firſt offence, which began the Warre and of this number I confeſſe my ſelf

be one, which ſtood ſometimes diffident in a controverſy ſo variouſly atteſted; but having made a diligent ſearch into all the paſſages, and tranſactions between both parties, both from before the Sword was drawn, and after to the year 1645, when the Kings Cabinet Letters were taken at *Naſeby*, and other manifeſts elſewhere, I then began to bethink my ſelf (that which before I only admitted in a kind of Ambitious beliefe) that the Parliament had then to deal with a King (howſoever heretofore valued as a Prince of no deep reach) who was not to ſeek without the help and influence of a malicious Councell) to play his owne part, I ſhall not ſay better, but more dextrous and cunningly for his owne ends, and to the reducing of the Kingdomes under his abſolute power, than any of thoſe could direct him, whom he moſt truſted with the mannagery of his deſigns and ſecrets; truely, Sir, on that diſcovery (on the publiſhing of his Letters) let me tell you there were many thouſands which fell off, and from the opinion they held of his

integrity and the Iuſtice of his Cauſe
it being in the next degree to a miracl
that after ſo full a diſcloſure of th
Kings juglings and diſſemblingsther
ſhould any remaine to take his part
and the wonder is the more remarke
ble that ſince his death any man ſhoul
believe him to be a Martyr, but whom
God hardens they ſhall be hardened
let the Charmer Charme never ſ
wiſely ſome will be deafe and diff
dent of viſible truthes never ſo clear
manifeſted, of which number that yo
ſhould perceveere to make one, as b
your ſundry invectives it appears, ſure
ly it hath not a little troubled me, t
ſee the excreſcencies of your inveterat
malignancy to break out even to obſti
nacy, and ſo long to have blinded you
judgment, from diſcerning of truth
from falſhood, and to have bard yo
from the right uſe of diſtinguiſhing be
tween reaſon well weighed, and frau
umbrated and atteſted, with the uſe
all artifices of the royall proteſtation
a faculty (by your favour) too to
common with the King and tho
quan

quaint pen-men which attended him; with plauſible Declarations, frequently ſent abroad, *ad faciendum populum*, to catch fools, and as the Kings uſuall phraſe was to undeceive the people, (prepoſſeſt with the reality of the Parliaments Remonſtrances) when in truth the Kings ends were no other than to decoy the poor credulous Animalls into an opinion of his good meaning towards them, when he intended them moſt harme, as we find it evident in the ſilly deviſes and quaint impreſſes of his money coyned at *Oxford*, pretending that he took up arms in defence of the Proteſtant Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the People, and the Priviledges of Parliament, when the direct contrary appeared by all his Actions; and when as it was manifeſt, that before he began to quarrell with the *Scots*, he tacitely intended, and even then deſigned to ſuppreſs Parliaments, or ſo to qualify them, that they ſhould be onely uſefull to his own ends, not to the people, and likewiſe to invade the Liberties of the ſubject, & adulterate the true Proteſtant

Re-

Religion with the ſuperſtitious mixture of Popery, as it manifeſtly appeared by his admittance of a Jeſuiticall crew into his own Court, & *Cappuchins* at *Somerſet-houſe* with large maintenance, even in the face of the Court, and eye of the Kingdom, with a generall connivence, amounting to a tacite toleration to all Papiſts, together with idolatrous Maſſes, both in his own houſe permitted, anduſed throughout the Kingdom in moſt Papiſts houſes without controule, & in imitation of *Solomon*, after that by his Wives he was turn'd Idolater, to ſet up the abomination of * *Aſhteroth*, even in the face of *Jeruſalem*: And as to his invading of the Libertyes of the people, with his many other oppreſſions and irregularities, we all know, and have good cauſe to remember them.

* 11 Kings 11. 4, 5, 6, 7.

The Breviary of his Life and unfortunate Reigne, manifeſtly declares as to his intent of ſuppreſſing of Parliaments, and future oppreſſion of the people, the obſervations I intend to ſend you, with his own Letters ſufficiently demonſtrates, & by whoſe motion

and

and Counſels thoſe exorbitances were firſt by his own Fathers Inſtructions purſued, found in his Cabinet at *Theobalds* immediately after his departure, and whereof one was to quit himſelf by degrees of all Parliaments, as too bold Co-partners in the Government with their Kings, & to run the future courſe of his government anſwerable to that of *France*; and to verifie this I ſhall point you to King *James* his own Speech in open Parliament, 1609. *March* 21. Where you may ſee what preparations he had provided for his Succeſſor to rule by: parallelling himſelf with God who he ſaith, *Hath power to create or deſtroy, make, or un make at his pleaſure, to give life, or ſend death, to judge all, and to be judged or to be accomptable to none, to raiſe low things, and to make high things low at pleaſure, and to God are both Soul and Body due; the like power*, ſaith this King, *have Kings, they make and unmake their Subjects, they have power of raiſing and caſting down, of life and death, Judges over all their Subjects, and in all cauſes, and yet accomptable to none but God*

alone

alone, they have power to exalt low things, and abaſe high things, and to make of their Subjects like men at Cheſs, a pawn to take a Biſhop, or a Knight, and to cry up and down their Subjects, as they doe their money.

Whence you may obſerve this Kings Principles, which in the Speech it ſelfe every where extant you may find, that even this King, whom the world ſtiled the Platonicall King, and was reputed a pious Prince, took the hint of his tyrannicall principles from a * Biſhop, who in the very face and audience of a Court of Parliament, preacht all theſe fine arbitrary doctrines, and yet in the Speech it ſelf, fol. quarto, you ſhall find the King defends him: Hence you way perceive by whoſe counſells the late King ſteered all the courſe of his government after his acceſſion to the Crown, with the reaſon of his ſeldome calling of Parliaments, and his often diſſolving of ſuch as he did call without their due effects. I ſhall now faithfully relate the whole progreſſe of the War, and by what female advice he was directed to the reducing of all the

* Mountague.

the three Kingdomes under his abſolute power, and for your better ſatisfaction ſhall by the way preſent you with the orignall cauſe of his hatred againſt this Parl. and by what ſtrange means it was ſummoned, and at a time when all wiſe men had given all Parliaments for loſt, which although long ſince, and by many more able pens than mine have been ſufficiently manifeſted to the world, yet for your ſake, I ſhall adventure to preſent them a new, as having little more in addition to the elabourate pains of others, than in ſome particulars which I find not as yet produced to the light of the world: Briefly then, It is a knowne truth that the King in that his unneceſſary raiſing of a warre againſt the SCOTS, and through the prodigality of the Court, eſpecially the petulancy and laviſhneſſe of the Queens ſide, had ſo exceedingly exhauſted both his Exchequer and Credit, and reduced himſelf to that extreme Indigence, that he knew not whither to turn himſelf, neither (as in the Breviary of his Reigne is exactly laid down) could that great head-piece, &

the grand Maſter for carrying on of all his Arbitrary work, ſhew him how to diſ-intangle himſelfe out of that harle, wherein his owne wilfull Inclinations had incumbred him: We all know, that the King on the entrance of the *Scots* at *Newborne*, in *Auguſt* 1640. took a poſting journey Northward to his Army, *Strafford* being Commiſſioned Generall in the room of the Earl of *Northumberland*, whither they were no ſooner arrived, but they found the Souldiery in little better than mutiny for want of their pay; the whole army then lying on Free-quarter on the County of *York*, and the King without ſo much money as would pay halfe a Regiment, the *Scots* poſſeſt of the Town of *Newcaſtle*, the Nobility having been exhauſted in their attendance the Summer before, yet to ſhew their loyalty, they again repair to *York* amongſt the reſt, the Earls of *Hartford* and *Eſſex* in their journey take an occaſion by the way to addreſſe themſelves to the Queen, to whom they declare the ſad condition wherein both the King and Kingdome were then re-

duce

duced, and that they ſaw no poſſible means, other then a Parliament, whereby to repair the State, relieve the King, and peece up the rents and breaches between both Nations; on this expoſtulation they prevailed with the Queen to write her Letters to his Majeſty, to move him to condeſcend to the ſummons of this Parliament, the mention whereof they very well knew without ſuch a mediatrix would be very diſpleaſing unto him; theſe Lords being thus provided with her Majeſties Letters, repair to *York*, and preſented them to the King, and upon conſultation with the reſt of the Lords then atten ding his Majeſty, five and twenty of them joyn in a Petition to that purpoſe: The *Scots* likewiſe, and 200 Gentlemen of the County of *York* concurring in the ſame ſute for a preſent ſummons of a Parliament. Thus was his Majeſty (as I may ſay) beleaguered on all hands, not any one but *Strafford* diſſenting; in the end, what between the Kings urgent neceſſities, and a concurrency of Petitions, together with the Queens Letters (which weigh'd moſt

with

with the King) was this Parliament contrary to the expectation of all men produced, to the admiration of the Kingdom, though againſt the King's expreſſe vow, taken at the putting on his robes (as before is mentioned) when he diſſolved his ſecond Parliament, and in a contemptuous deportment threw them from him, proteſting that it ſhould be the laſt time of their putting off or on: Hence we may diſcern through what difficulties and ſtreights this Parliament took it's beginning, we may well ſay, by God's ſpeciall providence, and by hers principally as the inſtrumentall cauſe thereof, which ſoon after was it's greateſt Enemy, and not by the Kings choice and inclination, as it is ſhamefully averr'd in his Pourtraicture, whereas the bare name and mention of a Parliament was well known to be odious unto him, and the very motion of calling any more prohibited, by his own expreſſe charge to all of his Councell of State, as that which he foreſaw would be the onely impediment to the accompliſhment of all his arbitrary deſigns

ſo meerly brought to their ends, but the ſummer before he waged the firſt warre againſt his native ſubjects the Scots, an enterpriſe which the World knowes was the only Remora that checkt and choaked all his projections in the maturity of their birth, which to recover or fight; and his ſenſe of the Parliaments proceedings he ſoon found he had no other way left him but by open War and force to ſuppreſſe them, the manna gery whereof I ſhall now briefly preſent unto you.

The Parliament had its Summons from *York* (as all the Kingdom knows) and the third of November 1640. ſate downe at *Weſtminſter*, where according to the uſuall Ceremonies, the King in his own perſon, in a ſet ſpeech made a very gracious proteſtation, viz. *That he was fully reſolved to put himſelf wholy on the love of his People and Parliament, which if it proved not proſperous and a happy Parliament the fault ſhould be none of his, and that he was fully determined to commit the reformation of all things amiſſe to their re-*

gulation. A profeſſion which bot
took much with the Houſe and all th
Kingdom, which had he been pleaſe
to have performed, and to have mad
good his word, in not protecting th
many delinquents, queſtioned within
few moneths after the Parliaments fir
ſitting downe, as with juſtice, honou
and his Coronation oath he was obli
ged, and in reference to his owne pro
fit he might very well have forborn
ſuch tragicall iſſues could never hav
befallen himſelf and the 3. Kingdoms
but having then entertained other de
ſigns, and perceiving the Parliamen
to fly high, and at his chief Miniſter
and woork-maſters of his former arb
trary projects, and on thoſe which ha
fomented that unneceſſary Warre
gainſt the *Scots*, as the Earl of *Str*
ford and the Arch-biſhop (principally
the Prelates and diſſolute Clergy
moſt of the Iudges and the Farmers o
the Cuſtomes, (not for common faul
but very high miſdemeanours) th
King to croſſe them, moſt ignobly an
againſt the juſtice of the Kingdome
not only provoked, but openly ſhew
himſe

himſelfe both a defendor and protector of their Delinquencies, and upon the diſtaſt he took on the commitment of *Strafford*, was inſtantly known to have laid ſundry plots and practiſes, how he might diſſolve the Parliament, or utterly to deſtroy it, which the Parliament perceiving, and that the Queen under colour of accompanying the Princeſſe *Mary* into *Holland*, was ſent thither with the Crowne Jewels to buy Arms, and procure forces to be ſent him, and *Digby* employed to the ſame purpoſe; whereupon in prevention of the ſtorme which they evidently then ſaw was like to fall on themſelves and the Kingdom from beyond ſea, they moved his Majeſty that the Kingdom might be put into a poſture of defence, and the militia depoſited in ſuch hands, as they might confide in, which he utterly refuſed to grant them as inſeparables to the Crowne (as he alleaged) he was reſolved to keep ſolely in his own power; The Parliament in anſwer to this, inſiſt, That the Kings power therein, by the Law of the Land, was only fiduciary, all-

wayes in reference to truſt, & the publik good & ſafety of the Kingdō; hence the conteſt by degrees grew to a ſeparation, and in furtherance of the diſpute he alſo denyed the houſe to disband the *Iriſh* Army, raiſed long before by *Strafford*, and compos'd of Papiſts, a ſtorm which could not otherwiſe be expected but would (if not timely prevented) fall on them from *Ireland*, where-

* Vide the Juncto.

of the * Juncto at their very firſt ſitting down had ſufficiently informed them out of *Straffords* own mouth for what uſe and end that Army was raiſed, *viz.* where he tels the King, *you have an Army in IRELAND to reduce this Kingdome*, when it was manifeſtly known to the world, that it never was in a greater calm of peace and quietnes, and the univerſall people in a more abſolute obedience, and as ready to be ridden as any ſlaves under the Grand *Signior*.

During this conflict, the King would needs take a journey into *Scotland*, notwithſtanding the Houſe by ſundry petitions had earneſtly moved him, either to lay it aſide, or at leaſt for ſome time

to retard it, (but howſoever the King carried on his plots & intentions in the dark, & with as much cunning as poſſibly could be deviſed) yet they had then good reaſon to ſuſpect, that his journey Northward was to ſome other end, than in leaving them to viſit his *Scotch* Parliament, as it after proved; but on he would for *Scotland*, and before he took his journey, in a ſeeming providence to disburthen the Kingdome of the charge of the *Scotch* Army, he firſt preſt the houſe to disband (with all their expedition) that Army, and to pay pay that of his own raiſing in the North, but not a word of disbanding it; upon this motion the Houſe took it into their ſerious conſideration (apprehending it for a provident, carefull, and timely motion of the Kings) and thereupon bethought themſelves, how firſt to disband and quit the Kingdome of the *Scots* untill Mr. *Stroude* ſtanding up, told the Speaker, *That they ought not in ſuch haſte to depart with the* Scotch *Army, leſt the ſonnes of* Zerviah (*in their abſence*) *would be too hard for them*, this ſpeech the houſe ſoon appre-

hended, and inſtantly reſolved not to disband the one without the other army, which the King perceiving, & being daily preſt with Petitions of the Officers of his own Army fot their pay, and himſelfe not poſſibly able to content them, as alſo, that 25000 l. *per menſem*, allowed to the *Scots* Army, with 300000 l. by way of brotherly love given them by the Parliament in compenſation of their loſſes through the Kings needleſſe and unneceſſary moleſting them, during the two Summers before, amounted in the totall to ſo vaſt a ſum, as that neither himſelf was able to contribute a groat, or the Parliament otherwiſe to diſcharge, but by borrowing it on the Publique Faith.

It would amaze thoſe which are happily ignorant of the managery of this work, if I ſhould tell them in what extremity of want the King was then reduced, and how he durſt adventure to ſtruggle, and after to trip up the heels of a Court of Parliament, which, without the leaſt upraiding him with his profuſions, and irregular Regality were

not

not only willing and ready to pay all thoſe vaſt ſcores of debts contracted through his own wilful miſgovernment, but then had it in agitation, how to improve his Revenues, and to inable him to live of himſelf without ſqueezing his Subjects, in honour, ſplendour and plenty beyond any of his Progenitors as it is well known to many of his own party who were of that Committee, *touching the improving of an annuall revenue to be ſetled upon him by act of Parliament, out of one particular, the Cuſtomes amounting to 400000 li. *per annum*, propoſed by old Mr. *Turner* the Farmer of the Allom works, and the ſame ſo much forwarded, that it was committed by Votes of the Parliament, to a ſelect number of Members, to be conſidered, and ſhortly after was ſtated to a proportion of 200000 l. more *per annum* than ever he received out of the great and petty farms, but that the world may know the wilfulneſſe of this King, after that he was gon from the Parliament, and had erected his Standard at *Nottingham*, he ſent word by Maſter *Leviſon* by name, and one

* Sir *John Broke*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Mr. *Partridge* and Mr. *Green*, were of that Committee.

of his Bedchamber, to *Turner*, That if ever he medled with the Parliament about that buſineſſe thenceforth, not to look him in the face; whence it evidently appears, that he meant not to take any thing of the Parliament by way of gift, having it in deſign to take what he pleaſed, as power ſhould inable him. God knowes I ſend you no Fables, but ſhall willingly be accomptable of any thing which you ſhall find herein inſerted, if it ſuit not with the naked truth and ſincerity of him, who would not that your ſelf and ſo many of the *Engliſh* Nation ſhould be any longer deluded and flamm'd with untruthes, and nurſt up in a belief of want of the Parliaments good and loyall intentions towards him, untill he had wilfully and deſperately made himſelf uncapable of the love and loyalty of his people; and ſuch was the ingratitude of this unhappy King, for proofe whereof amongſt many inſtances that I could preſent, and of his careleſſe paying where he borrowed, and ruining of many of his ſervants, let this one ſuffice of Mr. *Turner*, tow hom he owed no ſmall ſums,

Promiſed

promiſed much and often, as he did to many others, but performed nothing, when it was the leaſt thought of his heart; the after-ſtory, as a known truth, will both ſhew forth his ingratitude, and the extremity of his want, with thoſe ſordid ſhifts he was put unto, both at the ſitting down of this Parliament and long before, when the poor old man petitioned him for the nomination of a Baron; which is moſt true, that the King granted him without ſcrupie, provided he named a Gent. & of worth; in ſhort, it was my Lord *Capel*, and he was to give him in ready money, ooooo! but the King ſending for the old man, told him of his want, and that he would gratifie him otherwiſe with double that ſum; ſo the King as it is well known flattered the good old man out of his money, which was preſently given to the Queen Mother for her Tranſportation hence into *Germany*, and the old Gentleman left to ſeek his bread, and to die a very poor man; many inſtances of this kinde I could relate, but to returne to our relation: the Parliament then moved the City for the loan of ſo much

preſent

preſent money as might ſerve
diſcharge the arrears due to both
mies, which the Citizens denyed, unl
an act might paſſe for the Parliame
ſitting during pleaſure; the Citize
well remembring the Kings wont
and ſudden diſſolving of all the Par
aments of his Reigne.

The King then finding where
Remora lay, readily paſt that bill in
lation to his own debt, which ha
been ſince both by himſelfe and
party ſo much magnified for an A
of Grace ſurpaſſing all of his Prog
nitors, and ſhortly thereupon takes
journey towards *Scotland*, which co
dering his own hidden deſignes,
choſen in ſo fit a conjuncture of ti
as that he overtooke the Scotch Ar
in their march before they paſt the bo
ders, where what overtures he made
the Commanders to joyn with him
gainſt the Parliament, beſt appears
the notice thereof given and ſent
them to the Parliament and their
Commiſſioners here then reſiding.
King then finding that neither the E
liſh or Scotch Armies would be wro

in, answerable to his designes, posts *Edinburgh*, where he very well under-ood, that to keep the Scots quiet, ne-arily he should be compell'd to give Parliament all the content they ired, as tis maifestly known he did all things they demanded, and in ma-Acts of Grace, which to the English liament he utterly denyed, and stood on even to the last, as the Militia, the ice of their Admirall, Chancellour, ges, &c.

During the Kings abode in *Scotland*, ich was near upon foure moneths, s well known the *Irish* Rebellion ake forth in *October* 1641. and that ing authorised under the great Seale *Scotland*, as both the Rebels them-ves aver'd, and that attested by di-witnesses of credit, which had ne it under Seal: the Parliament re at that time had a recesse, only so ny of the Members as might keep up reputation of a Parliament resided *Westminster*, the rest were retired to their habitations untill *November* lowing, when by order of the Hou-they were all to re-assemble, in the

mean

mean time, whileſt moſt of the Lord
and Commons were in the Countr
hapned that Rebellion; the Parli
ment by this time and at their co
ming together, had to their old, a ne
worke cut out to their hands, wh
the King could not accompliſh eithe
in *England* or *Scotland*, by the way o
inſurrections and diſturbances in bot
thoſe Kingdomes, he had fore-laid th
way to do it in *Ireland*, howſoeve
groſly palliated and denyed in hi
Pourtracture, yet ſo ſuſpicious o
fowle play, as that on a right unde
ſtanding of the mannagery of th
peace, and the ſlye carrying on o
the whole buſineſſe, between him
ſelfe and the Marqueſſe of *Ormond*
(to be ſeen in his own Letters) make
it plain that he had a perfidious han
therein.

Now as to his preparations fro
France and *Holland*, wherewith
Invade the Parliament, its manife
he had then in readineſſe a very con
derable proportion of all ſorts of a
munition, and many men, at leaſt
expectation, to be ſent him at
call. Abou

About the beginning of December following the King (having (as he conceived) made ſure worke with the *Scots*) comes to *London*, where at his firſt comming to the Houſe, he makes open profeſſion, what contents he had given to his Scotch Parliament, even to a kind of oſtentation, and as to this Parliament ſome diſlikes he was pleaſed to take againſt them for that in his abſence they had no better forwarded their worke; and as to his reception in the City it was magnificent, and as it ſeemed very well pleaſing to himſelfe, ſure it was to the people and all the ſpectators, which ſuſpected nothing of his ill meaning towards the Parliament.

The King by this time having been at home much about 30 dayes had a new and another kind of game to play than that of meriment, he found that the Parliament was then much diſtracted (as good reaſon they had) with the apprehenſion of the *Iriſh* inſurrection, and that horrible ſlaughter there committed on the poor *Engliſh* Proteſtants, and that they ſtood

not

not a little in jelouſie and affright
at their aſſiduall intell igence receiv
from beyond ſea of the Kings prepar
tions, and that his heart was n
right towards them; but of this h
had determined to put them ſoon o
of doubt, and the more to confu
them, conceiving that the Citize
would on all occaſions be wholly f
him, having in his approach to the C
ty in his returne from *Scotland*, a
his entry into the Suburbs, a
throughout all the City, courteou
ſaluted the people by the often puti
off his Hat (as before is intimate
a favour which till then neither hi
ſelfe or his Father before him had n
ver beſtowed upon the vulgar (whe
(as it after appeared) his deſigne w
to make uſe of them, having in read
neſſe, and ſhortly after fild whiteh
with the forlorn Officers of his C
ſheered Army, he takes an occaſi
under pretence of ſuſpicion of Treaſo
to ſend for Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, M
Hollis, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Stroude*, a
Mr. *Hamden*, of the Commons Hou
and my Lord *Kimbouldon* of the Lor
Hou

House, by one of his Serjeants at Arms, which being denyed him by the House (as a plain breach of their priviledges.)

The very next day being the fourth of January, he comes attended with his guards, and those armed Cavaleers, and entred into the House of Commons, sits downe in the Speakers Chaire, and demands the foresaid six Members, which, upon private intelligence given them of the Kings intent, had absented themselves; the King missing his prey grew exceedingly into choller, and vow'd that he would have them whereſoever they were; his own comportment and the demeanour of the Cavallers, both in desperate words and big looks was so terrible to the Parliament that they forsook the House and sate in the City, sending out a Declaration of the high breach of their Privileges, together with a Petition to his Majesty that he would be pleased to grant them a guard for the security of their persons and sitting, which true it is it, was granted them, but with such a person for the com-

command, as that they durſt not accept of him, but were compelled to remaine for their ſafety a longer ſpace in the City, untill the Lord Major and the Citizens readily aſſiſted them, and for their better ſecurity brought them in Coaches ſtrongly guarded to *Weſtminſter*, whither alſo reſorted a conſiderable party dayly paſſing along by *Whitehall* Gates to their reſcue in caſe the Cavaleers ſhould have againe diſturbed their conſultations, on this party the Cavaleers falls a beating them whereof ſome they kill'd, even at the Court gate, untill a greater number came to their aſſiſtance. The King finding himſelf then deceived in his expectation, and that the people were generally devoted to the Parliament, he makes ſeverall viſits into the City, where in a publike audience he partly complains of the affronts done to him by the Parliament in their detaining the ſix Members, and partly excuſing his unadviſedneſſe in his entring the houſe in that manner as he did (which is evident by his own Declaration) but finding at laſt, that his

hopes

hopes failed him to have any assistance out of the City against the Parliament, he stood some time in doubt what course to take, but in the end resolves under the specious pretexts of his insafety by reason of the Tumults, (as since himself stiles them) not to stay at Whitehall any longer; thereupon he departs from his own Court and the Parliament, as more fully hereafter I shall take occasion to remember. Hitherto I have presented you with nothing but that which is obvious, and long since knowne to all the Kingdome, having as briefly as I could, deduced the story, from the third of *November* 1640. which was the very day that the Parliament sate down, to *January* 1641. neer about the latter end whereof the King removed from *Whitehall* to *Hampton-Court*, *Windsor*, and *Theobalds*, accompanyed with his wonted guard of Ruffians; the Parliament continuing still to petition him for his returne, and concurrence with them; but no perswasions or arguments would prevail, but on he goes Northward, and makes his residence

at *York*, whither he draws by degrees many of the Lords and Commons from the Parliament, moſt of the Delinquent party reſorting unto him, together with my Lord *Digby* from beyond ſea, though with his own approbation long before proclaimed Traytor; thither alſo (notwithſtanding the ſeverall affronts done to the Parliaments Meſſages and Meſſengers) they ceaſed not to importune his return; but nothing could move him againſt his will and inclinations, for now he had another game to play, having hitherto failed in all his practiſes, and (as he conceived) his deſignes then grown to maturity, his next plot was to ſeize on the Town of *Hull*, by the Earle of *Newcaſtle*, where a very great Magazine of Arms and Ammunition had been depoſited the Summer before which the King had alſo refuſed to return to the Tower; and the Town of *Newcaſtle* by Colonell *Legge* was likewiſe to be ſeized on, both maritime towns and of great importance for the letting in of all ſtrangers to his aſſiſtance; whereof the Parliament having

ing certain intelligence, and by all the
kings former courſes being more fully
ſured from abroad apprehending the
angerous conſequence therof, thought
en it more than high time in what
ly they could, (for the ſafety of
emſelves and the Kingdom) to prevent
e miſchiefs, which they then evident-
perceived threatned the univerſall
ation, and thereupon they ſudden-
diſpatched the two *Hamptons* with
mmiſſion to pre-poſſeſſe the Town
the Trained Bands of thoſe parts:
e you may ſee the firſt armes that
the Parliament appeared in, un-
e you ſhall urge the guards which
City ſent them for ſecuring their
ſons from the fury of the Cavaliers,
ch admit, it was onely defenſive,
preſerve themſelves and the King-
me, in what poſſibly they might, and
prevention of future ſtorms, which
y inevitably ſaw were ſure to fall
n them from abroad; and had
y not gone farther, in ſeizing on the
y, the Tower, Forts, Caſtles, and
munition, together with the Crown
venues, which are the Nerves and

ſtrengths of the Kingdome, which
they neglected, no man can make do
but they would have been perver
from their proper uſe, and turned
gainſt the Kingdom; ſurely then
they perceived that nothing
worke upon the Kings obſtinacy,
that he was reſolved to make Wa
and to embroyle the whole Kingd
and let in ſtrangers, they would
been deemed unworthy of the p
they held in the behalf of their C
treys, had they not done as they
But as to the Kings part, pleaſe yo
look over all the progreſſe of his
ſignes, and take them once more
your ſecond conſideration, and
cannot in any reaſon beleeve, but
from the very firſt commitment o
Earl of *Strafford* to the Tower,
eſcape he had privatly plotted, a
ſend him into *Ireland*, (as in part i
fore noted) but that he intende
force the Parliament to his will, o
terly to annihillate it, eſpecially
he found that the Earl was conde
and his execution preſt (as a p
example) to dye, after which its

certain he meditated nothing more than war, and to be revenged on the Parliament as it evidently appears by his ſending over the Queen into *Holland* to buy arms, *Cockram* into *Denmarke*, and *Digby* in the ſame errand, as alſo by his practiſing of the Army in the North to fall upon the Parliament, together with the flight of *Percy*, *Jermin*, and *Suckling*, as the onely perſons firſt engaged in that Plot, which durſt not ſtand to the Teſt, and in order to theſe, his peremptory denyall to disband the *Iriſh* Army, and his private addreſſes to other forreign Princes and States to ſupply him with men, money, and arms, all which his practiſes were viſibly known to the Kingdom, to have been in agitation ſome of them before the Earle of *Straffords* execution, other ſhortly thereupon, which evidently ſhews, that he was reſolved at any rate, and by force of arms to ſuppreſſe the Parliament. In the univerſal diſturbance of the whole Kingdome, you may further obſerve, how in purſuance of his miſchievous deſignes, notwithſtanding the diſlike the Parliament had of

his determination to goe into *Scotla*
and their humble motions to him
lay that journey aſide, or at leaſt
ſome time to retard it, as before
laid down, yet would he needs g
and the reaſons thereof are perſpicu
conſidered as he made choiſe of
time to overtake the Scotch Army
fore they came to the borders, and
attempt to corrupt the Command
to turn to him, and if that failed, ye
give his Scotch Parliament all the
tent they would deſire; take the de
farther; What worke was made th
concerning the Iriſh Rebellion? w
after his return home he made here,
his aſſaulting the Houſe in a war
poſture, and his accuſing the ſix M
bers (as the moſt noted Comm
wealths-men) in terrour to the
upon no other ground but on a va
ſurmiſe of his own making, of ſuſpi
of Treaſon, where the proof is ſo p
by the firſt ſhedding of bloud a
own dores, and the hoſtile manne
his entring the Houſe attended w
300 armed men, and moſt of them
deſperate and forlorn Fortunes, t

the very bare deniall that the King made not the firſt Ware doth ſurpaſſe even impudence it ſelf: I am not ignorant that the Kings many proteſtations, and not a few of them fortified with imprecations, hath taken a firme footing in the belief of many half-witted men, that his Cauſe was much better than it was, but the wiſer ſort make their judgements of men by their actions, not by their profeſſions, and they believe by the teſtimony of their ſences, what they ſee and feele they are bound to believe, eſpecially when a King in his private inditements which are the dictates of the Soule, & thoſe addreſt to a perſon which had gained an abſolute power over the faculties of his reaſon and underſtanding, ſuch unbeleevers are not fit for humane ſociety. But omitting repetitions and further Comments, wee have left the King at *Yorke*, where for your better ſatisfaction it is fit that I put you in remembrance how there hee purſued the War, in raiſing the people, and inviting the Counties both farre and near to riſe and ſide with him a-

gainſt the Parliament, which in the Obſervations I ſhall ſend you will be made more manifeſt. But that it may more fully appear upon what further grounds the King forſooke his owne houſe and the Parliament, beſides the pretended fear of Tumults (of his own cauſing) it was ſuggeſted unto him, and he was made to believe, That without his preſence and concurrence with the Parliament they could not, neither durſt they vote or act any thing, though never ſo relative to the ſafety of themſelves and the Kingdome, ſo that its apparent, that either by fraud or force he was reſolved to put an end to this Parliament, and for farther proof of this I refer you to the Obſervations.

Now as to the main of your accuſations, the taking away of the King's life, and diſ-inheriting of his Poſterity, I crave leave to defer this point to the laſt, and to the concluſion of my animadverſions, where hapyily you will find the true reaſons thereof; and ſhall now proceed to the Change of the Government which you charge

the Parliament to be ſo long ſince plotted, and as a power uſurped and exerciſed by them in a diſpotical way way of Tyranny, in raiſing of money, impoſing of taxes, and intollerable contributions on the whole Nation; to take them apart I ſhall begin with the change of the Government as it is now eſtabliſhed in the nature of a Republick, which you know to be gotten by the Sword, and likely ſo it is to hold, by the ſame weapon as the *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans* got their Dominions here by Conqueſt, and as the late King on that mere foundation intended to make his power abſolute and *A la Francoys*, in the needleſſe endeavour wherof, and to be more than ſtood with the conſtitution of the Engliſh Soveraignty, you know how he loſt all, together with his life; if your conſcience cannot brook the preſent government as now it is eſtabliſhed, I ſee no other remedy left you, but to quit the place you now live in (and quietly if you would) it ſuffiſeth my Conſcience that I live under it, in the enjoyment of ſomewhat wherewith to ſubſiſt, which I am ſure was more than

my

my ſelf and many thouſands more could do, when and wereſoever the late Kings armies were prevalent; as to the Taxes and Contributions, whereat you ſo much repine as inſufferable, and moſt illegally impoſed on the people, all that I ſhall ſay to it is that we which ſuffer them, may all of us thank your party for it, as inforced on the States by your only means, for the defence of the common freedome of the Nation, which as in the beginning of the late Warres, your party under the royall Commiſſions invaded, ſo you continnally indeavour to ſubvert them, by all the ſecret plots and practices you poſſibly can invent, whereas could that malicious tumor of yours, and that unquietneſſe of your ſpirits by allayed, and your ſelves perſwaded by reaſon, before it invades you, the taxes you may be ſure on't, would ſoon be abated, why then can you not reſt content with that change and government, which, were you not hood-winkt, you might manifeſtly ſee Go s high and over-rnling providence to have carried on the worke both in a ſeries of the many and miracu-

culous victories of the Parliaments, as alſo in diſappointing all the late Kings deſigns, and in diſcovering all your plots and practiſes, even from the very beginning of the warre to the preſent, which although they weigh not with you, as men bewitched, and as I may ſay, beſotted with an incapacity or hardneſſe of heart not to be convinced by any force of reaſon, or arguments, though providence it ſelfe viſibly ſhews it out unto you, that not only Gods ſpecial hand is in this great change of affairs, but that he hath yet ſome greater worke depending on this, which in his own good time he will bring to paſſe, in throwing down that proud papall Monarchy, and utterly to confound that man of ſin who ſits in the temple exaulting himſelfe above God.

Sir, Here may you be pleaſed to take in your more ſerious conſideration by whom Kings reigne, and ceaſe to reigne, and ſoberly to obſerve for what ſins almighty God uſually ſtriks down the prowd Septers of Kings, and binds their Nobles in chains of Iron, and

you

you may without preſumption ſay, and find it moſt true, throughout all the ſacred Scriptures, that where Idolatry, Injuſtice, Oppreſſion, and Blood-ſhed have had predominance, there Gods wrath hath inſeparably attended the Authors, and favorers, and moſt ſeverely puniſhed thoſe ſins above all others, and what in theſe ſins have been either permitted, acted, or connived at by the late King (howſoever faced out and denyed by himſelfe) and moſt of your party, and his cauſe ſhamefully defended, yet I ſuppoſe you cannot but acknowledge that they have not only been winked at, but backt and authoriſed *cum privilegio*. And here give me leave to tell you, that I have ſtood amazed at the impudence of your royal bookmen, I ſhall only inſtance (amongſt many) in a few, as Judge *Jenkins* his *Lex Terræ*, and other of his jugling fragments, the *Regall Apologie*, the *Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ*; but eſpecially in that grand impoſture of the Kings Pourtracture; in all which, that they ſhould give the plain lye to truth, con-

conceale and ſmother the true intent of the lawes of the Land, and contradict the Kings own Letters and expreſſes written with his own hand, augments the admiration, and much the more that they ſhould with ſuch acerbity exclaime againſt the ripping up of the faults of the dead, when they themſelves give the occaſion, in their frequent invective Pamphlets againſt the Parliament, and in their juſtifications of a Prince, whoſe inclinations lead him to the fulfilling of his own will, though to the apparent loſſe of his Crowne, and his deareſt friends, ſo violently were his inclinations driven on to the accompliſhing of his deſigns, when as neither the junctoes of *France*, *Spaine*, *Denmarke*, the States of *Holland*, or ſcarce any Prince Chriſtian, (though moſt of them of his neareſt allyes, and ſolicited by all the artifices that man could invent) would owne owne him when they underſtood the wayes and enterpriſes he moſt wilfully undertook, and all of them (upon due examination) as unneceſſarily undertaken, and needleſly purſued with

as

as much violence and craft, as if they had ſome neceſſary dependence on his own ſalvation, and the ſafety of his people, when as God knowes, they were moſt deſtructive, the miſhapen, and illegitimat births of his own willful inclinations.

Now it would not be much impertinent to the ſubject you have ſent me, if I ſhould tell you that I find not any one Nation in the world that hath had any great reaſon to be overmuch inamored with their Kings, ſure I am neither of us both (how different ſoever in our principles) have had any great cauſe given us to dote on our laſt, conſidered, as he raigned in blood and oppreſſion, and handled the matter both with his friends and foes whether forraigne or domeſtick; witneſſe thoſe needleſſe Warres he ingaged himſelfe againſt *Spayn* and *France* in the entrance of his reigne, afterwards with the *Scots*, but eſpetially with this Parliament and the ſubjects of three Kingdoms, not only to the beggering of them, but the ruine of himſelfe and his poſterity; and yet is this

this moſt willfull and bloudy Prince the only King which your party have ſo much admired, defended and believed living, and dead, adored and eſteemed for a Saint and a Martyr:

Sir, You are a Gentleman well verſt in Hiſtory, I ſhall therefore take the boldneſſe to adviſe you, to take the right demenſions of all the Kings you have read of, either in the ſacred ſcriptures or prophane, obſerve well all their actings, and I dare be bold to ſay that you ſhall very rarely find any of them which have ſtrictly tyed themſelves to the duty of their office or to have executed their powers otherwiſe than to the extream detriment of their Subjects, take them whereſoever they have been admitted either by the ſuffrage of the people (as that hath been the beſt means to keep them within the bounds of moderation) or permitted by the abſurdity of ſucceſſion, whether wiſemen or fools, whether Children or of mature years, or aſſuming their Soveraignties by the power of their Swords, and doubtleſſe you ſhall find few of them which have been

been over-mindfull of the good and welfare of their people, neither to have had any due retroſpect to the right ends of Government, and that *ſalus populi* the ſafety and good of their Subjects, for which all Kings had their powers originally ordained and given them from God, never for their own private intereſts, which moſt of the Kings of the World have evermore ſtudied to advance, and generally *per fas et nefas* right or wrong, indeavoured to inforce, as in this point we have all of us had a late and a lamentable experience; where take this in the way, that, without all diſpute, all Kingly power, and that deſpotical domination of that great hunter *Nimrod*, which was firſt by him uſurped by force, and from him as the firſt pattern of Royalty, diſperſed throughout moſt parts of the World, yet we find not in all the Scriptures any veſtigia or authentick proof, that the ſucceeding Kings of the Nations came to their powers by any immediate inſtitution from God, but only *permiſſive*, though it is moſt true, that

that when ſuch powers were in being, and how uſurpatiouſly ſoever obtained, yet ſubmiſſion hath been by God himſelf enjoyned to thoſe which lived under them, untill for their injuſtice and extreme Tyranny God in his juſtice determined to tranſferre their powers to others, as you may tranſparently ſee he hath done in our late change; ſince then other powers than Kingly are now with us in being, you and I both, which live under them, are bound in conſcience to ſubmit and obey them, for all * powers are of God. And let me remember you, for its worth your obſervation, that the *Iſraelites* for a long time had no Kingly Government, but in *Egypt*, in the Wilderneſſe, and after in the Land of *Canaan*, for many hundred years together were no other than *Ambulans Reſpublica*, a walking Common-wealth, and onely governed by Judges and the Princes of their reſpective Tribes, never by the abſolute power of any one man, *Moſes* himſelf having his aſſiſtants, even the Princes of the People, untill through their own wantonneſſe and contempt

*Rom. 13.

of that Government which God had ſet over them, and in his providence and love towards them, knew to be fitteſt for them, they obſtinately rejected the gentle government of * *Samuel*, and weary of their own happineſſe (ſurfeiting as they did in the Wilderneſſe on that delicious food of *Quails* and *Manna*, and wiſhing for the fleſh-pots of *Egypt*) in imitation of the Heathen they thirſted after a King, and not unlike to *Eſops* Frogs, they preſt *Samuel* to change their quiet and peaceable Block into a furious and devouring Stork, their freedom into ſlavery, at firſt with theſe Arguments, *That thy ſonnes walke not in thy wayes, but have turn'd aſide after lucre, took bribes, and perverted judgement*, (foul faults indeed and happily too true) for whereſoever power (without grace) is inveſted faults there will be, and many times foul ones too; But this was not all that they reſented, it was their ambition and deſire of novelty in a vain-glorious affectation that ſwayed with them to be like their Neighbour Nations and to have an illuſtrious and pompous

* 1 Sam. 8. 3, 4, 5.

dominion

domination over them; but how this pleased God, that Chapter with others shews us in a very sad dialect; for, God in his wrath gave them a King according to their desires; yet he commands *Samuel* to shew them what would be the manner of a King, and what Tyrannies he would exercise over them; howsoever their hearts being set on a Kingly Goverment (a glorious thing indeed in the outward shew and splendor thereof) have a King they would without more dispute, alleging other Arguments to *Samuel*, viz. *That he may judge over us, go out before us, and fight our battels*; But how most of their Kings executed judgement, and what needlesse battles they fought for them, and how much bloud of theirs was in many of their Kings reignes willfully and profusely spilt by most of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, as also what taxes and tributes were unnecessarily imposed on them, their own Chronicles will best inform you, and all this King. by work, what doth it amount unto, more than to fullfill the will and pleasure, and to maintain the pompe and

ſplendor of one man and his whole family, in the open and privileged oppreſſion of a whole Nation?

Now if the Hiſtory of the Kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael* be not ſufficient to inform your judgement of the oppreſſions and Tyrannies exerciſed by moſt of their Kings as a juſt judgement of God on the whole Nation, (for I may of truth aver, that they were a ſtubborn generation, and God anſwerable to their own hearts deſires gave them their belly full of Kings when it was too late for their repentance) then you may pick and chuſe among all the Kings of the World, and you ſhall find the beſt of them little better than Tyrants (yea *David* himſelf a man of blood, and moſt perfideous in the caſe of honeſt *Vriah*) and as the greater Fiſh in the Sea which eats up the leſſer, ſo Kings on the Land are commonly no more than Cannibals, man-eaters, and as a good Author deſcribes them to be *ex genere beſtiarum rapacium*, a ſort of ravenous beaſts (undenyable truth) eſpecially where abſolute Soveraignty is uſurped by

one man, and that derived in a ſucceſſion, which is the evill of all evils, and the very ſame which your malignant party ſo vehemently drives at, to introduce on the Engliſh Nation, and to inſlave a free borne people, when your ſelf being a rationall man, very well knows that no man *ab origine* was born a ſlave, but either by his own conſent, or by the ambition and pleaſure of Tyrants was made ſo; for who knows not that all men are of the ſelf-ſame mold as Kings; neither were Kings ever ordaind of God to govern their people, otherwiſe than for their * good, never to be oppreſt and trampled on at their own wills and luſtfull pleaſures: But happily you may here charge me to intrench, and preſſe with the moſt on the Honour and Power of Kings, I anſwer, I honour them as Gods own Ordinance amongſt other Powers, and am commanded by the Apoſtle to make prayers and ſupplications for them all, eſpecially for Kings, (and great reaſon we all have ſo to do, leſt they devoure us alive) but if they preſume to break

* Rom. 13. 4.

over thoſe limits and boundaries which Almighty God hath ſet unto them, (as of thoſe, and what they are you may beſt inſtruct your ſelfe out of * *Deuteronomy* and * *Ezekiel*, where you ſhall finde the King to be tyed up to ſtrict rules, as to read the law, and to obſerve it all the dayes of his life, that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren; and as the Prophet tels them, take away your exactions from my people, remove violence and ſpoyl, and execute judgement and juſtice, &c.) Vpon theſe conſiderations I hope you will not blame me, though I have not made one amongſt ſo many which have ſided with our late King in raiſing of war againſt his people and their Repreſentative, neither in plundring and deſolating the Kingdom, which howſoever thoſe exorbitances (amongſt other of his faults) have been palliated with as much fineneſſe of wit, as the art of man could poſſibly deviſe yet I beſeech you let truth appear, which with a little of your patience you may more fully underſtand, and then happily you will adjudge him guilty

*Deut. 17 19.
Ezek. 45. 9 46. 18.

of

of much more than hath beene yet vulgarly charged on his accompt; in the mean time remember our blessed Saviours oracle, *That it is fit offences should be, but woe to those which occasion them*: Excuse me then, though I tell you, that I know none more guilty of the occasion of all our barbarous and brutish wars, bloodshed, rapine, and of the imminent danger and utter desolation, which at present threatens and hangs over three late flourishing Kingdoms, than he who ended his vexatious dayes at his own gates, and she which had the Honour of his bed, together with her which was the mother, and of all the mischiefs which befell all the places whersoever she made her abode. Bnt happily you may again reply, that I speak as a loser, and true, and so may you and one hundred thousand more of poore innocent sufferers speake in the same sad dialect, as having felt the fearfull effects of the perversity of one mans will, who in the power of a moderate SOVERAIGNTY and the love of his people, by whom,

and by this very Parliament (ſo hatefull unto him) never any King of *England* was more honoured, beloved, obeyed, and more courted; and when time was might have been what a juſt Prince would have deſited; and ſhould I aske you what might he not have been had he either at firſt, and long after this Parliament ſate downe, yea and long after the Warre began complyed with them (as great reaſon there was he ſhould have done) and not to have protected Delinquents, neither to have ſided with ſuch as moſt treacherouſly deſerted their truſt, but to have relyed (as at firſt he promiſed) on his faithfull Councell the Parliament, I preſume you will acknowledge it for a manifaſt truth, that none of his progenitors, were, or could have been greater it honour, power, wealth, and in reputation at home and abroad; but the truth was, the powerfull a domination his inclinations had over any other reaſun than his owne, that the wayes of the Parliament (though never ſo relative to hi owne honour, juſtice, profit, and

we

welfare of the Kingdom) were ſo averſe and contrary to his genius, then rather to be controuled, or ſuffer any reformation to have been accompliſhed by them, either in the Church or State, and his diſordered government to be regulgted by their advice, he would and did run the hazard of his owne ruine, his Poſterity and people. And as allready I have ſhewed you, tis a manifeſt truth that he tacitely had deſigned, many years before this Parliament ſate downe, not only to quit himſelfe of this Parliament, but of all others, and as power ſhould enable him, to invade the freedoms and liberties of the Engliſh Nation; howſoever in theſe particulars (amongſt many other of his faults) it is far otherwiſe atteſted in divers of his expreſſes, as alſo proteſted in his late book (be it his own or not) the evidence of his own private letters, and the obſervations on them will clear that doubt; Where then, I beſeech you tell me, ſhould the ſubject have had any propriety, which by time and degrees would not have been

ſwal-

ſwallowed up in that vaſt gulf of a pre-
rogative royall, where into, not one
year before the Parliament ſate down,
all that the ſubject had was in a faire
way of ingulfing? neither wonder at
this, for it is an infallible truth, that
moſt Kings affect their own ends, and
injuſtice, oppreſſion, and commonly tyranny are faculties inherent to
moſt of them, very ſeldome to look
back to the proper ends for which they
are ordained of God to advance the
good and welfare of their ſubjects, but
generally you ſhall find them only to
ſeek the improvement of their own
powers,& ſoveraignties,yea often times
without any ſenſibility that their peo-
ple are compoſed of the ſame fleſh and
blood as themſelves, to make havoke
of their lives and fortunes, ſome-
times to maintaine their power, pride,
prodigallity, and luxury, and that
which is worſe, if worſe may be, to
fullfill their perverſe wills and luſtfull
pleaſures in the beggering and ſlaugh-
tering of millions of their ſubjects, for
proof whereof, we need not go farre
for examples,the indeavours of our owne
King

Kings to inſlave their ſubjects, yeelds us plenty of preſidents, and the French to this day feel the yoke of ſlavery impos'd on them by *Lews* th' eleventh in taking away their *Conventio de le Eſtates*, and reducing that Government to be at his own diſpoſement; neither was *Ferdinando* of *Spaine* quiet in minde, untill he had quit himſelf of the Juſtice of *Arragon*, a Court not unlike the *Ephori* amonſt the *Lacedemonians*, or our Parliaments in *England* and *Scotland*, which limited their Kings, and kept them within the bounds of moderation; the *Hollanders* alſo have had lamentable experience of the Ambition of *Philip* the ſecond, who on the maſſacre of 100000 of the Natives endeavoured to take away their ancient Immunities, and to invaſſalate the whole 17 Provinces under his abſolute power; a ſtrange paſſion in princes. when no power will content them, but that of abſoluteneſſe, to be maſters over their Subjects lives and Fortunes; ſurely if there be any analogy between Shepherds and Kings (as no doubt there is) our bleſſed Savi-

our

our tells us, that *bonus paſtor ponit animam pro ovibus*, the good Shepherd, or King layes down his life for his people, and not to expoſe theirs to fullfill his own luſtfull pleaſure; a ſad and lamentable preſident whereof, we have all felt in our late King *Charls*.

But to proceed, I would fain know what your aims are, that moves you with ſuch impetuonſneſſe to revile the preſent Government, ſince I cannot imagine what other cauſe you have, but in your endeavour to bring in the new Crown'd King of Scots on the old ſcore, thereby to re-make your ſelves in the unmaking and invaſſalating the reſt of the Engliſh Nation, which duely conſidered as the poſture of affairs with us now are, is ſo ſenſeleſſe (in reference to the bettring of the peoples conditions) as that it exceedeth all the Chimæra's of the old Romances, and which you cannot expect may poſſibly be accompliſhed without the effuſion of an infinity of more blood, and by the ſwords of the Scots and barbarous Iriſh (excellent cohabitants for the Engliſh (if you think

think on't) when as you know they are generally hated by both thoſe Nations, though probable it is, that your imaginations prompt you to beleeve, that all of your party ſhall aſſuredly riſe with them, though in the undoubted fall of the reſt of the Nation; and not unlikely you flatter your ſelves (out of the old remote potential hope) with the plunder of *London*, as the onely magazine of wealth, that will make you all abundantly rich, though in this too you may miſſe of your aims, unleſſe at an inſtant you can change your native dialect, and ſpeak Scoth Presbytery and Iriſh Taneſtry in a trice, neither ought you to beleeve that the Citizens will ſtand ſtill whilſt you cut their throates: But what a ſtrange peece of poverty poſſeſſes your intellectualls, to beleeve that in ſuch a change and turne of Fortune (as all of you ſo much deſire) an *Engliſh* man (howſoever principled) ſhall long enjoy either life, liberty or eſtate, otherwiſe than at the diſcretion of the Conqnerour; and when the King, either or both thoſe Nations and

other

other forrainers shall come in upon
and Lord it over us, in a far high
strain of Tyranny than ever the *Da*
exercised in that short time they we
here masters over our Ancestors; If yo
foresee not this misery, and the fat
consequence which necessarily must fo
low such a turn of Fortune, I must lea
you to your own will and expectanc
yet must I not forbear upon these co
siderations to commend unto yo
more serious thoughts, what kind a
race of Princes wch. with such zeale y
endeavour to bring in to govern ov
the English Nation, where I shall pr
sent you with a very formidable obs
vation, as you may find it in the Hi
story of the Scotish Kings, and it i
this, that seven, if not eight of the la
Scotish Princes of the name and fam
ly of the *Stuarts* (one onely excepted
came all to their ends by violent death
(a fearfull fate if you please to obser
it) and some of them to make awa
one another; as for instance, *Iames* th
first who for his Tyrannny was cut o
by the Nobility, the second was sla
at *Roxborough*, the third at *Bonoxbur*
the

fourth at *Plowden* field, the laſt
in as needleſſe quarrells as our
King *Charls* engaged firſt againſt
native Subjects the Scots, and on
heels of that War againſt the Eng-
and their Repreſentative, onely
mes the fifth had the fortune to dye
a naturall death, but as to his onely
Daughter Queen *Mary* and mother to
ing *James* the ſixt, it is manifeſtly
owne that ſhe cauſed *Henry* Lord
rnley her ſecond Husband to be cru-
murthered, and only to make way
her third Marriage with Earl *Both-*
ll her Paramour, whom the States
niſhed, and ſhortly after call'd her to
compt for her Husbands murther,
d for that fact and other conſpi-
cies againſt the State, by the Votes
the major part of the Peeres and
ommons in Parliament ſhe was ad-
ged to die, whereupon ſhe fled in-
England, where contriving ſundry
ots with the Papiſts and the Duke
Norfolke againſt Queen *Elizabeth*,
d reſtleſſe in her ambitious con-
vements to diſpoſſeſſe the Queen
gnant of the Crowne, you know

to

to what end ſhe came at *Fodri*
gay, where we may ſafely believe th
Gods juſt judgments overtook her
when ſhe little dream't to have dy
at the block; what ſince became
her only Sonne King *Iames*, and h
two ſonnes Prince *Henry* and our la
King *Charls*? though the manner
the two firſt deathes are ſtill held
diſpute, yet we all know to what
fatall end the laſt came, even at h
own Gates, and in the ſame pla
where the firſt blood was ſpilt by
own ſervants the Cavaleers; pard
me then, If I preſent you with
opinion of my own, which I am co
fident is an infallible verity, that a
mighty God in his juſtice ſuffers not
ny man to come to a prodigious e
but for ſuch ſinnes by him committe
as are equivalent to that ſin for whi
he ſuffered; it is Gods own Oracl
an eye for an eye, and a tooth for
tooth, and he that kils by the Swo
by the ſam e weapon or the like he ſh
ſurely dye; for a concluſion, ta
this as a knowne truth to all the Na
on, that both the late Kings

th

they were naturall Scots, very rarely loved an Engliſh man, ſure we are, not the Nation in generall, and that very ſeldome either of them admitted any of the Engliſh into their Bedchambers, (for generally they were all Scots) neither took they any of the Engliſh (*Buckingham* excepted) into their ſecrets, and as their privadoes, untill *Strafford* was taken into our laſt Kings favour, but no otherwiſe than as a meer States-man and a bold inſtrument to act any thing conducible his Maſters deſigns, and ſuch projects which were ſuitable to his endeavours and inclinations, otherwiſe I never knew any that were fit ſervants for him; and it is moſt certaine, that both the Father and the Sonne laid more ſubtill and cunning ſnares to inſnare the Engliſh Nation, than all of the *Norman* race before them; the Father to have laid the foundation, and the Sonne to build up the whole fabrick of abſolute Soveraignty, as inſenſibly at firſt, and from the beginning of their reigns, as poſſibly their deſigns could permit,

but King *Charls* towards his laſt, and long before the Warres began, openly, and ſhortly thereupon in hoſtility and with morter tempered with more Engliſh blood than ever hath been ſo wilfully and profuſely ſpilt by any one Tyrant in the World; and for what cauſe, and on what grounds (I beſeech you tell me) more than for the *Nugæ* and idle fictions of a divine prerogative, and to rule alone without other Law than his owne Will, and without accompt to any but to God alone? they are both the Father and the Sonnes owne Maxims, juſt Tyrant-like, *quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem*, and yet, which is the myſtery and the wonder of the times, is this wilfull King cryed up, by his many partizans, for the onely paragon of Princes, and that which is of more admiration, his Proteſtations in the common belief preferred and credited before his viſible actions, and Cabinet Letters, which if men were not beſotted, I am ſure beſt of all other evidences, layes open the most hidden ſecrets of the heart: But

is moſt certaine, that before, and a long ſpace after the battle at *Edgehill*, he refuſed all overtures of Peace, though tis confeſt he made many motions for Peace to the Parliament, but ever no other than on ſuch diſadvantagious terms as were utterly unfit for the Parliaments embraſure, and the Kingdomrs ſecurity, for we find them evermore accompanied with ſuch reſtrictions, reſervations, and ambignous conditions (howſoever gilded over with plauſible pretences) that the Parliament at length durſt not either truſt him, or any of his ſpecious Declarations, as in the obſervations on the *Reliquiæ Carolinæ* are manifeſted, for it is moſt true, that as ſoon as he had attracted a very conſiderable Army to his aſſiſtance, by his artifices, and the ſeverall viſits and the orations he made to the reſpective Sheriffes and Gentry (before and after the ſetting up of his Standerd) of the Counties of *Yorke*, *Lincolne*, *Nottingham*, *Leiceſter*, *Cheſter*, *Stafford*, *Denby*, *Flint*, *Salop*, *Oxford*, and *Berks*, where-

in he neither ſpared any pains or travel, or loſt a minute of time, both to de-ceive and win the people to his cauſe: and 'tis evident, that he had not once written his particular Letters to moſt of the prime Gentlemen of the King-dome to ſide with him, but had ſent his peremptory commands to moſt of the Colonells of the Parliaments Army ſent into *Ireland* for the aſſiſtance of the diſtreſſed Proteſtants, to repair to his ayde againſt the Parliament, a treachery and a teſtimony beyond all others of the falſeneſſe of his heart, conſidered (as hereafter it ſhall be made more apparent unto you) with the ſeeming zeal and care he pretended to bear to thoſe poor Iriſh Proteſtants. It is worth your further obſervation, that this moſt unfortunate Prince, having ſo often accuſtomed himſelfe to fraud and diſſimulation, that it came at laſt to this ſad iſſue, that all his after Meſſages and Overtures made to the Parliament (in the declination of his power, and after he was a Priſoner) though happily more really intended than formerly, and

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ateſted with exceeding ſpecious & plauſible Proteſtations, & ſome of them confirmed with his wonted Imprecations, were not beleeved, but ſuſpected for fallacious; ſo long had this moſt unhappy King (like the Flie that playes with the flame, which comes in the end to burn himſelf out of his own fury) ſuch power had his will and naturall inclinations over his reaſon; where you may take an inſtance or two in the way for a proofe thereof. When he firſt raiſed his Army at *York*, for which he endeavours to flam off the Parliament, that thoſe forces were onely raiſed as a guard for the ſecurity of his Perſon, and to confirme this, he cauſed divers of the Fugitive Lords then attending him, ſhamefully to atteſt, that he had no intent thereby to levy War againſt the Parliament, when immediately thereupon he began to march, and to run from place to place as before is noted, to raiſe more force, and that which is moſt perfidious, after he had erected his Standard at *Nottingham* he continued the ſame ſtraine, utterly denying and proteſting

that he had not then any manner of intent thereby to wage war with his Parliament, as hereafter you shall more plainly see, a strange delusion to flatter himself, in dancing unseen in a net, and that that he should not onely be able to deceive the People by his Protestations, but to delude and cosen a Court of Parliament out of their understanding, as you may see this verified in his owne Expresses sent to the Parliament from *Nottingham* and what a strange trick would he have put on the Parliament, when from *York* he sent them a Message, that he had taken a resolution to go in person into *Ireland* to chastise those Rebels, and to that purpose had determined to raise 2000 Foot, and 200 Horse in and about the County of *Chester* for a guard to his person, and to flatter himself with such a senseless device to delude the Parliament, as if they understood him no better, than to beleeve his designe to be reall, when they perceived his drift was, First to raise here a considerable force, & then to joyn with the Irish Army there, and in

in the end to turn all his power on the Parliament. It would be too wearisome to me to recount all the perfidious practices of this moſt unhappy Prince, and too tedious to your ſelfe to read them, I ſhall therefore for the preſent conclude and referre you to the animadverſions and obſervations on the contrarity between his publick proteſtations, and private Letters, which you ſhall God willing receive very ſhortly, and wherein I doubt not but that you will find ſo much fraud, deceit and diſſimulation of this King, as will amaze you, and turn the ſtrong tyde of your belief, (hitherto poyſoned with flams and ſuch ſubterfuges) as may ſhame any rationall man to be ſo long coſened and deluded by them. No more Sir at preſent but that I deſire and wiſh you to beleeve no otherwiſe of that which I have ſent you than in your judgement you ſhall find ſuitable to truth, and that as you ſhall ſee juſt cauſe, to eſteeme me, (as I am) your well wiſhing friend.

Animadverſions or Obſervations on the ſtrange contrariety between the late Kings Declarations, Miſſives, Proteſtations, Imprecations, ſent at ſeverall times to the Parliament, and his Pourtraicture compared with his own Letters taken at Naſeby, *and ſome other of his Expreſſes not yet taken into publike Obſervation.*

SIR,

I Have now ſent you, by your ſervant, thoſe obſervations which I promiſed you, ſuppoſing that they will come to your hands ſo ſeaſonably, as to help to convince you, that

that neither the Parliament began the late wars, or that there could be any deſigne or plot laid (of I know not how many years ſtanding) either of a factious party amongſt them, to diſturbe the peace of the Kingdom, take away the Kings life and his poſterity, or to alter the Government, but that whatſoever hath fallen out ſince the ſitting down of this Parliament, hath been enforced by the King himſelf, and by a concurrency of ſundry cauſes ariſing from his own willfull inclinations, the ſins of the Nation, and Gods ſpeciall hand therein, as a fearfull puniſhment upon us all: If you think otherwiſe, and that you ſhall perſiſt in your errours, I doubt not but theſe Obſervations will more clearly manifeſt unto you, that the King was (in all this tragicall conteſt) both his own enemy and no ſuch innocent Martyr as your party conceives him to have been, and of this let his own actions, and his private Letters ſpeak, and I ſhall be ſilent, whoſe principall endeavour hath been no other than to give you ſatisfaction (on your own provocation) and that truth

truth may appear to all thoſe whom it concerns beſides your ſelf, and firſt to the

Obſervations on the Treaties for Peace, after the War began.

The firſt overture for peace, after the War began, was without all queſtion of the Parliaments at *Colebrook*, which how it was accepted of by the King, and on the nick thereof purſued, by the drawing up of his Army in a miſt, the ſlaughter at *Brayuford* beſt ſhews out what was the Kings meaning, which how he labours to defend it in ſome of his Expreſſes, yet without doubt if it were not perfidious, yet very ſuſpicious of no fair meaning; ſure it was very retrograde to the procuring of a peace, otherwiſe than as himſelf meant to have it by force.

The next overture for an accomodation was likewiſe of the Parliaments firſt motion, and agreed upon to be at *Oxford*, a place as inauſpicious for treaties, as Parliaments; for it came to no other iſſue than to ſignifie nothing;

game

ſame wherein the King was wel vers'd, a proof whereof amongſt many, you may find in his eighth Letter to the Queen, Jan. 3. 1644. from *Oxford* viz. *The* Portugall *Agent hath made me two Propoſitions: Firſt, concerning the releaſe of his Maſters brother, for which I ſhall have* 50000 l. *if I can procure his Liberty from the King of* Spain; *the other is for a marriage betwixt my Son* Charles, *and his Maſters eldeſt Daughter: for the firſt, I have freely undertaken to doe what I can, and for the other, I will give ſuch an Anſwer as ſhall ſignifie nothing.*

Obſervation.

Here you may firſt evidently ſee what a fine Juggler the King was grown, and into what a ſtreight hee had driven himſelf, to become a broker for money, and inſtead of Friendſhip to a King to whoſe Agent in others of his Letters to the Queen, he acknowledgeth himſelf to be more beholding for the tranſport of his Letters, than to the *French* Embaſſadour; and then as to the motion

tion of marriage to juggle him o with an anſwer which ſhould ſignif nothing, judge you whether it wou not have been more Kingly to ha dealt more plainly with the Agent, an to have told him that he liked not th motion, on reaſons beſt known to him ſelfe, than to have flam'd him off wit a ſignificavit rather of an affront, tha friendſhip.

The third motion for peace was alſ of the Parliaments firſt overture, an tendred to the King at *Oxford*, and a greed upon to be at *Vxbridge*, where how that likewiſe was aforehand or dered, and his Commiſſioners tyed up to his will, and to the wrack o his own Inſtructions, from which they were not on any conditions to recede, is made very clear in the Poſtſcript o his Letter to the Queen, number 5th. January 29. 1644. from *Oxford*, viz. *And be confident that I will not quit Epiſcopacy, nor that Sword which God hath given into my hands.*

Obſervation.

If the Quære here ſhould be made whether

hether God had ſo abſolutely gi-
n the power of the Sword, into his
nds, as at his own will and pleaſure
unſheath it againſt his own ſub-
ſts, and the Repreſentative of the
ingdome, whom by his Coronation
ath he was obliged to defend and
otect, doubtleſſe no man is ſo madd
believe, that the Kings reſolutions
n uſing it as he did to their deſtru-
ion) were ſo religiouſly byaſſed as
became a Chriſtian King: But
at you may further underſtand, why
e King ſo peremptorily ſtood to the
holding of Biſhops, and to keep the
ilitia in his own ſole power, (for
at's the meaning of his not quitting
e Sword) which all the world knows
be no otherwiſe (by the intent of the
awes of the Land, Reaſon, and the
aw of Nature) an inſeparable flower
the Crown than Fiduciary, alwaies
reference to a truſt given our Kings
Parliament, out of confidence that
ſhall be uſed to no other intent or
nd than the defence of the Kingdom,
nd not to be perverted againſt it, as
l the ancient and modern Statutes im-

port,

port, both in their preambles and text. Caſt your eyes on his own Directions to the *Vxbridge* Commiſſioners, number 21. where you may evidently ſee that it was not ſo much the ſcruple of his Conſcience and Coronation Oath, as in relation to his own particular deſignes and intereſts; viz. *That as it is the Kings duty to protect the Church, ſo it is the Churches to aſſiſt the King in the maintenance of his Authority; wherefore my Predeceſſors have been alwaies carefull, and eſpecially ſince the Reformation, to keep the dependency of the Clergy intirely on the Crown, without which it will ſcarſely ſit faſt on his head; therefore you muſt do nothing to change this neceſſary dependance.*

Obſervation.

Here you have the true reaſon wherefore the King ſo much inſiſted on the keeping up of Epiſcopacy, and how likewiſe the cunning Gypſies the Biſhops had inſtill'd it into his apprehenſion, what ſure cards they were to keep the Crown faſt on his head,

the Crown and Myter had been ſuch inſeparables, as that the one could not ſubſiſt without the other; obſerve withall what a queint Aphoriſm they firſt coynd and broched it to King *James*, viz. *no Biſhop, no King*; and judge you whether *no Porter no King* had not been the better maxime, when as it is perſpicuous, that moſt of our ancient Kings had no ſuch Enemies as the Biſhops, witneſſe *Tho. Becket* to *Henry* the ſecond, *Lanfranke* to *Henry* the firſt, *Roger* of *Salisbury* to King *Stephen*, *Orleton* to *Edward* the ſecond, with divers others which almoſt in every Reign oppoſed their Kings, and addreſt themſelves to the Pope for their Palls and Inveſtitures, indeavouring in what poſſibly they could to free themſelves from any dependancy on the Crown, untill *Henry* the eighths time, who firſt of all our Kings freed himſelf of that ſervitude, which had beene ſo fatall to moſt of his Predeceſſors. But look a little further and you ſhall finde in the Kings 19th. Letter to the Queen on the ſame ſubject, Febr. 25. 1645. from *Oxford*; viz. *Thou needs not*

doubt

doubt of the iſſue of this Treaty, for the Commiſſioners are ſo well choſen (though I ſay it) that they will neither be threatned nor diſputed from the grounds I have given them, which upon my word is according to the little Note thou ſo well remembers, and to this not only their obedience, but judgements concur; againe in the ſame Letter, *and be confident, that in making peace I ſhall ever ſhew my conſtancy in adhering to Biſhops, and all our friends, and ſhall not forget to put a ſhort period to this perpetuall Parliament; but as thou loveſt me, let none perſwade thee to ſlacken thine aſsiſtance for him who is eternally thine.*

Obſervation.

Here we have a true Character of this unfortunate Kings naturall obdu-racy, and the averſeneſſe of his Genius to alter any of his reſolutions, which once fixt, he would effect on any hazzard whatſoever; the Earle of *Strafford*, who beſt of all others of his arbitrary Miniſters had moſt ſtudied his inclinations, needed not to have, cher-

ded this humour of the Kings, when as
in the profecution of the wars againſt
the *Scots* 1639. he counſels the King in
hac verba, Loſe all I had, or carry all;
again you may here ſee how he had
forehand bound up his Commiſſio-
ers with ſuch inſtructions from whence
hey were not to ſtir or yeeld in a jot,
s likewiſe how mindfull he was of the
ittle Note, and punctually to obſerve
, a very fine note of remembrances
beleeve, had we the honour to have
en it; and were we not all of us of the
Engliſh Nation, a happy people to ſee
ur King governed by the directions
nd documents of a woman, a ſtrong
Papiſt, and of the houſe of *Medicis* by
he Mother, a moſt Emperious and dan-
erous generation of women, and fatal
o all places whereſoever they came?
wiſe its true ſhe was, but ſuch a one
ruled and over-ruled that ſtiffeneſſe
his conſtellation, and effected more
ith him than either himſelf could doe,
the moſt inward of his Councell of
ate durſt attempt, and on one caveat
hers would rather adventure the loſs
his Crown, than not to ſhew his

* Vide the Juncto quinto Maij 1649

conſtancy in the upolding of a Myter; you may remember how much pains he was at with the Divines at *Newcaſtle* and the *Iſle of Wight*, and what tenents he held in his diſpute with them concerning Epiſcopacy, and that Biſhops were of a Divine and Apoſtolik Inſtitution, which is true in ſome ſenſe, as thoſe were which were inſtituted by the Apoſtles, but that our late Biſhops as they ſtood here from before and after King *Edwards Reformation*, that they ſhould be taken in with thoſe of St. *Pauls* making, in the generall notion or latitude of Biſhops, without any diſtinction, as if thoſe Biſhops of the Papiſticall Church were of the ſelfe-ſame nature, and of like ordination as thoſe of the Primitive times, ſeemes to me a paradox. 'Tis true, that at the time of the Reformation the diſpute grew high at the *Black-Fryers* amongſt the Commiſſioners themſelves whether Epiſcopacy ſhould remain as it then ſtood, or to reduce it to the originall patterne of the primitive Church, as Biſhop *Latimer*, *Martin Bucer*, and *Peter Martyr* would have had

had it; but Biſhop *Ridly*, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners, moſt of them Biſhops (as Sir *John Heywood* in his firſt Copy of his * Hiſtory of *Edward* the ſixt layes it down) would by no means aſſent unto it; the other three maintaining that Biſhops as then they ſtood were no other than chips of the papiſticall block, and of no affinity with St. *Pauls Titmothy's* or *Titus* Biſhops, neither could they be of any conformity with the ancient and primitive inſtitution, but the meer excreſcencies ſprouting out of the exuberancy of the Papacy, long after the defection and adulteration of the primitive Church, which defection from the ancient purity began immediately after *Gregory* the Great, and I am very confident that there are none of our late Biſhops ſo impudent as to maintaine, that either the *Britain* or *Saxon* Kings (whatſoever is fabled of King *Lucius*) ever erected any Epiſcopall Sees, or admitted of any Biſhops that came hither before *Auſtin* the Monk, and ſuch others after him, as were merely ſpriggs of the papacy, and that

* The firſt copy was ſuppreſt & expunged by the Biſhops and the old Knight committed by K. JAMES to the Tower by the inſtigation of the Prelates.

long after the adulteration of the *Roman* Church; a truth ſo perſpicuous as that I have wondred on the reading of the diſcourſe between his Majeſty and thoſe learned Divines, why it was not preſt by them, that Epiſcopacy, *quatenus*, as it ſtood here ſince and before the Reformation, was ſpurious, papall, and of no affinity with the Apoſtlick, or primitive inſtitution; eſpecially the wonder is ſo much the more that the King for the upholding of 26 ſquare caps, ſhould with ſuch obſtinancy (which he would have to be eſteemed conſtancy) oppoſe a Court of Parliament compoſed of 500 Lords and Gentlemen, and pretend ſo much to honour and conſcience, when as about the ſame time, and as I remember before that the diſpute was here in the Houſe for the expulſion of the Biſhops, the King had granted the ſame boon to the Scots. But I beſeech you take notice how mindfull the King was to remember his friends, and what were they think you more than Delinqnents, Soldiers of Fortune, and the looſeſt vermin that the Kingdom could afford

afford him, together with the Papiſts, many Country Gentlmen, and the Fugitive Members of both Houſes which he had corrupted and drawn from their truſt, with double ends of his own, not onely to make up his mungrell Parliament at *Oxford*, but to lame or deſtroy the legall Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, whoſe privileges with ſo many proteſtations he had ſo often aver'd to maintain? In the next place pleaſe you to obſerve how memorative the King was to put a ſhort period to this perpetuall Parliament; for this expreſſion manifeſtly ſhewes how he intended to deal with all others, a Parliament as himſelf had made it, indiſſolvable (by any other way than that of the * Sword, which by no meanes he meant to depart withall, until needs he muſt) and the act aſſented and granted by himſelf, on reaſons merely relative to the payment of his owne debts, contracted by his unneceſſary raiſing of War againſt his Native Subjects the *Scots*, and for the more ſpeedy diſcharge of the arrears due to both armies, which the Parliament was then

* The Militia.

moſt willing to defray, without the leaſt ſcruple, or upbraiding him with the cauſe of contracting ſo vaſt a ſum, and all to gain at any rate his love and favour; where I muſt tell you, that you would have thought it ſomewhat harſh ſhould they have told him as it was * anſwered in full Parliament to *Hen.* the third, that they would not pay his debts, neither give him a groat, *poſtquam cœpit eſſe dilapidator regni*, ſo long as he continued to deſtroy the Kingdom, but you cannot deny how ready they were to expedite the payments, by taking it up of the City on the publick faith, which the Citizens (on remembrance of the Kings wonted manner of diſſolving of all the Parliaments of his Reign without their due effects) utterly refuſed, unleſſe an Act were paſt for the continuation of the Parliaments ſitting, upon which grounds the King granted that act, which ſo nearly concerned his own particular, and the ſending home of the *Scots*, whoſe company was then loathſome unto him. How then it comes to paſſe, that your ſelfe and ſo many of your party ſhould think

* Sir Rob. Cotton in the life of H. 3.

this

this ſuch an act of Grace ſeems to me a wonder, when he had ſo often proteſted, not onely to maintain the Priviledges of Parliament, but whatſoever acts he had for merly aſſented unto; but you ſee here his own expreſſion, That he would not forget to put a ſhort period to this perpetuall Parliament; what then I beſeech you do you conceive would have been the iſſues? otherwiſe than to recall all thoſe his ſo much magnified acts of grace (as *Edward* the third yeelded him a preſident) and at laſt by the power of the Sword (which he ſayes God had put into his hands) to have invaded the Lawes and univerſall freedomes of the Nation as his very next Letter to the Queen manifeſtly imports *March* 9. 1645. from *Oxford*, number the 20th. viz. *I have thought of one means more to furniſh thee withall for my aſsiſtance, than hitherto thou haſt had; it it this, that I give thee power to promiſe in my name, to whom thou thinkeſt moſt fit, that I will take away all penall Laws againſt the* Roman Catholicks *in* England, *as ſoon as God ſhall in-*

able me to doe it, ſo as by their means or in their favours, I may have ſo powerfull aſsiſtance as may deſerve ſo great a favour, and inable me to do it; but if thou aske what I call that aſsiſtance; I anſwer, that when thou knoweſt what may be done for it, it will be eaſily ſeen, if it deſerve to be ſo eſteemed; I need not tell thee what ſecrecy this buſineſſe requires; yet this I will ſay, that this is the greateſt point of confidence I can expreſſe to thee, for it is no thanks to me to truſt thee in any thing elſe, but in this which is the onely thing in difference of opinion betwixt us, and yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargaine in this, I truſting thee (though it concerns Religion) as if thou wert a Proteſtant, the viſible good of my affairs ſo much depending thereon.

Obſervation.

The Comment on this his Majeſties 20th. Letter, principally relates to theſe two moſt important conſiderations; firſt, the invading of the Laws, ſecondly, to the affront of the Parliament

ment and the Proteſtant Religion, when he ſhould be impowred by the aſſiſtance of the Papiſts, and a third neceſſarily ariſeth on the neck of the other two, *viz.* by giving power to the Queene, a profeſt Papiſt, and an enemy to the *Engliſh* Nation, to manage the buſineſſe, and to make the beſt bargain for him, as ſhe ſhould thinke moſt fit, under the ſeale of ſecrecy, as being himſelf aſhamed to be ſeen in the buſineſſe, (as God knowes good reaſon he had) But in the mean time ſpeak your Conſcience, where was then the Kings Conſcience, and his honour? and what became of his former proteſtations? wherein he ſo often avows the maintenance of the Proteſtant Religion, (without mixtures) and what was his own Religion, more than formall, or like a noſe of wax, convertible onely as it ſhould conduce to the viſible good of his affaires? (they are his owne words) and what thoſe affaires were more than his will and pleaſure, in his uttermoſt endeavour to continue to imbrue the Kingdomes with more blood and rapine, by

by the ſwords and aſſiſtance of Papiſts, cannot well be imagined; theſe and a world of his other expreſſions, compared together with his own Letters, and his Pourtraicture, I muſt tel you plainly, have very much troubled my ſpirits, that he ſhould ſo much and ſo often pretend to Religion, Conſcience, and Honour, in yeelding up of Epiſcopacy, when he made no ſcruple of Conſcience to grant to the *Scots* the aboliſhing of their Epiſcopacy, which in the Chapter of Church-Government in his Pourtraicture, he ſtrives to ſalve with an ill ſavoring playſter, but for the retention of it in *England*, he pleads, and ſtands ſtiffly on his Coronation Oath, with the ſwallowing up of the moſt eſſentiall part thereof, which by far more obligeth the Kings of *England* to obſerve, than the preamble to that Oath, penn'd of old by the Prelats & Church-men for their own onely ends and intereſts, a very inconſiderable party, in reſpect of the quality of the Nobility: and Gentry; and that vaſt number of the Laity, of which it ſeems the King reckoned of af-

ter

the Popes computation, to be *ex-*
to Coulam, either out of the Church,
at beſt but the fag-end thereof, and
compts little better of them, than as
many cyphers, or his ſlaves at will,
pleaſure, cleane forgetting, or ſligh-
ing the grand & more eſſentiall part
his Coronation Oath, which is con-
dently averr'd the late Arch Prelate
purpoſely emaſculated, and never gave
him at his Coronation, but left him
liberty, which all men knows is that
which obligeth the King to rule not
onely by the Lawes in being, but *per*
iſtas bonas leges quas vulgas eligerit, to
govern by ſuch good Laws as the Par-
liament ſhall chuſe, and the reaſon of
this is moſt moſt perſpicuous, for the
Lawes of *England* are not of that ſtamp
as thoſe of the *Medes* and *Perſians* (un-
alterable) but changeable according
to the viciſſitudes of times, and change
of mens manners, and at the Election
of the people in their Repreſentative,
the Kings aſſent being formall, and
onely a neceſſary appendant, and by
the intent of the Law, his principall
power conſiſts in the executive part, the
Parlia-

Parliaments in the elective; for it is without all queſtion that never any of our Kings either abrogated or made any Law obligatory to the people by his onely lawfull power, but by the Parliaments conſent and election; the nature of the Kings Office being more cumulative then privative, to give rather than to take any thing from their ſubjects; but here you may ſee what a latitude of power the King aſſumes to himſelf, where he promiſeth to the Queen to take away all the penal laws againſt Papiſts, as ſoon as he ſhall be enabled to doe it, without a word of by your leave Parliament, ſo that you may manifeſtly ſee what he intended, and that no other ſence than his owne is here pind upon him: you may further obſerve out of this Letter his windings, doublings, and fouldings, and how dexterouſly cunning he was growne, at playing faſt and looſe with RELIGION, or with any thing elſe that might promote his miſchievous deſigns, leaving no way unattempted though to prophaning of Religion, that he conceived might conduce to the viſible

good

good of his affairs (as that was his uſuall expreſſion) and what was that viſible good think you? other than to overpower the Parliament, and then to rule as he liſted. But to ſhew unto you what a gameſter he was at Hocus-pocus, I pray look upon the Poſtcript of his Letter to the Marqueſſe of *Ormond February* 16. 1648. from *Oxford*, *viz.* 'In caſe upon particular mens fancies, the Iriſh peace 'ſhould not be procured, upon powers 'I have already given you, I have 'thought good to give you farther order, (which I hope will prove needleſſe) to ſeek to renue the treaty for 'a peace for a yeare, for which you 'ſhall prowiſe the Iriſh (if you can have 'it no better cheap) to joyn with them 'againſt the *Scots* and *Inchiquine*, but 'I hope by that time, my condition 'may be ſuch, as the Iriſh may be glad 'to accept les, or I be able to grant more.

Obſervation.

Hence you may make your owne judgement what a *Proteus* the King was grown; you may take this alſo into your obſervation, as ſuitable to the

the reſt, that in all his Declarations, Letters, and Meſſages to the Parliament, and after he had loſt all and could ſtand up no longer, and was a priſoner, they were then directed to his two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, but during his power, and ſo long as he had any hopes left him to conquer them, he miſſes not throughout all his expreſſes to call them Rebels, and in that capacity tacitely treats with them at *Vxbridge*, (which the Scots at *Rippon* utterly refuſed to treat with him unleſſe he would withdraw and diſown his proclamations in ſtiling them Traytors) and although he calls them a Parliament, yet was it with a mental reſervation not ſo to acknowledge them, as you may ſee in his 17 letter to the Queen (where it ſeems ſhe had ſchoold him to the purpoſe for acknowledging them to be a Parliament, for which he makes a very humble and ample apology, and ſayes, If there had 'been but two beſides my ſelf of my 'opinion, I had not done it, and the 'argument that prevailed with me was, 'that the calling did no wayes acknowledge

'ledge them to be a Parliament; upon 'which condition and conſtruction, 'I did it and no otherwiſe, and accor-'dingly it is regiſtred in the Coun-'cel books, and with the Councells u-'nanimous approbation, but thou wilt 'find that it was [my miſfortune, not 'my neglect, that thou haſt been no 'ſooner advertiſed of it.

Obſervation.

I need not comment on theſe fine pieces of the Kings, your own judgment may informe you what a quaint ſeſuiticall jugler he was grown, by the converſation he had with the Mother and the Daughter, both of them being excellent proficients in the doctrins of *Matchivill*; and ſurely, under the Roſe be it ſpoken, himſelf no very bad Scholler in that kind of learning; yet here you may ſee what pains he was put unto, how to make a handſome excuſe to ſave himſelf from a chiding: but I forbeare to make further mention of his perfidious courſes, more than to put you in minde, that

ſo

ſo long as his vain imaginations prompted to over-power the Parliament, and to reduce all to his own abſolute pleaſure, its moſt certain, that he refuſed all overtures for agreement with the Parliament, other than ſuch (as before I have intimated) he verily believed to make advantage of; and this appears in his 9th. Letter to the Queen, March thirteenth. from *Oxford*, 'viz. *Dear Heart*, What I told thee 'the laſt week concerning a good parting with our Lords and Commons 'here, was on Monday laſt handſomly 'performed, and if I now do any thing 'unhandſome or diſadvantagious to 'my ſelf or Friends, in order to a Treaty, it will be merely my owne fault, 'for I confeſſe when I wrote laſt, I was 'in feare to have been preſt to make 'ſome mean overtures to renew the 'Treaty, knowing that there were 'great labourings to that purpoſe; but 'I now promiſe thee, if it be renewed '(which I believe wil not) without 'ſome eminent good ſucceſſe on my 'ſide, it ſhall be to my honour and advantage, I being now as well freed

from

from the place of baſe and mutinous motions (that is to ſay, of our mungrel Parliament here) as of the chief cauſers, for whom I may juſtly expect to be chidden by thee, for having ſuffered thee to be vexed by them.

Obſervations.

We have here a plain proof of the former aſſertion, that during the Kings power, he would entertain no Treaties but ſuch as here he promiſeth the Queen, ſhould be both to his honour and advantage, and he renders the reaſon, *viz.* That he was then left free to himſelfe to doe as he liſted, and as his inclinations ſhould prompt him, as being quit of thoſe baſe and mutinous motions of his mungrell Parliament at *Oxford*; where you may obſerve, how well Parliaments ſuited with the nature of this King; for this at *Oxford* (which was of his own deſigne, and calling of ſet purpoſe to annihilate the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*) was

(as himself stiles it) a base, mutinous, and mungrel Parliament, and he might with good reason so accompt of it, for they were indeed a sort of perfidious Fugitives, false to themselves and their Countreyes, and the King no doubt in his own thoughts esteemed them no other, for such as would be false to themselves, the King was not to seek to make his own judgement what they would be to him, on the turn of any tyde of advantage, but that at *Westminster* he calls a Rebell Parliament, though of his own first Summons: The truth was, none would or could please him, neither any councell but such as suted to his own will and pleasure. Its true, and it is confest that after he had lost all, and was a prisoner, he seemed more inclinable to embrace peace, and to that end sent his frequent Messages to the Parliament, but evermore with the old scruples of his Conscience and Honour, persisting to his last (as being fed with hopes of a generall rising, 1647. and the coming in of the *Scots* under *Hamilton* to wind himself up again to that p

er, whither his reſtleſſe ambition (to be more abſolute than he ought to have been) lead him to the precipice of his owu ruine, and it is more than probable, that during the laſt Treaty in the *Iſle of Wight*, and the expectation of the ſucceſſe of that riſing to his reſcue, he had a perfidious hand therein; for it cannot be imagined that ſuch an aſſociation of *Engliſh*, *Scots*, and *Welch*, would ever in one conjuncture of time adventure to riſe without either his Privity or Commiſſion; howſoever it is manifeſtly known, that both the *Engliſh* and *Welch* had for their undertaking the Princes Commiſſion under hand and ſeale, neither is it likely that the Prince himſelf (during a Treaty ſo neer a period to an attonement) would either authorize that riſing, or to have approached at that very time with his Fleet ſo near the *Thames* mouth, without either his Fathers Commiſſion or approbation, the perfidie ſhewed therein is more than confident utterly loſt and was a principall canſe that the Parliament could not in reaſon, or with

ſafety of themſelves and the King dom, readmit or truſt ſuch a Prince with the government, of whoſe Reformation they could not but deſpair.

Obſervations upon the Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ.

IT is worth his pains who deſires to be rightly informed of the truth of all paſſages and tranſactions between the late King, and the Parliament, his myſterious motions, pretences, and carriages, both during all the warres, and ſince his death how matters have been managed by his partakers, eſpecially by thoſe which firſt publiſhed his Pourtraicture, and him who hath taken ſuch pains in collecting ſo many of his papers, printing, expoſing and diſperſing them throughout all parts of the Kingdom, purpoſely both to deceive the people, and malitiouſly to work upon the facility of their affections in commiſeration of him, and of caſting an *odium* on the Parliament. The artifice which this Impoſtor [illegible] is worth conſideration, as he hath

niſhed the approaches to his collecti-
ons with the Kings picture in ſome pla-
ces ſtanding, in others kneeling, and as
it were ejaculating his prayers to God,
and thoſe dreſt with ſundry devices
and motto's, and all this to invite the
eye, if not the underſtanding of the
ſilly beholder to a beleef, that he died
an innocent Martyr, a Prince who ſuffe-
red for his reſtleſſe endeavor to defend
the Proteſtant Religion, the Laws and
Libertyes of his Subjects, as he would
intimate by his hudling of the Kings
many ſpecious and fraudulent over-
tures for peace to the Parliament, and
avoyding of future bloodſhed. In all
the Catalogue of his one and twenty
Meſſages of the Kings, (beſides addi-
tionalls) he is pleaſed not ſo much as
to inſert one of the Parliaments Anſ-
wers in rejoynder to any of the Kings
Meſſages, onely taking in ſo many of
his Majeſties which he conceived
might ſerve his turn to clear the Kings
innocency, and leaving out ſuch of the
Parliaments moſt materiall Miſſives
which the King omitted to give any
Answer at all; as for inſtance, let him

produce what reply the King made to the Parliaments charge, for *Rupert's* intercepting of the Clothes, Provisions horses and other necessaries, sent by the Parliament in the way to *Chester*, for the releef of the relicts of the poor Protestants in *Ireland*; true it is, that long after an answer was, such as it was, made (though not by him mentioned) *viz.* that those provisions might have been better guarded; a proper answer if you please to take notice of it, when its most evident, that the Kings forces not only took them with his expresse command but drew over the principall Commanders and Soldiers before sent by the Parliament to his own assistance against the Parliament, now, that you may see how the active part of the war was carried on by the King, take into your serious considerations his Message of the 15 of *April*, 1642. from *Huntington*, wherein he earnestly desires, *That the Parliament will use all possible industry in expediting the businesse of* Ireland, *in which they shall finde so cheerfull a concurrence by his Majesty, that no inconvenience*

happen to that ſervice by his abſence, he having all that paſſion for the reducing of that Kingdome which he hath expreſſed in his former Meſſages, being unable to manifeſt more affection to it, than he hath endeavoured to do by thoſe Meſſages (having likewiſe done all ſuch acts as he hath been moved unto by his Parliament) therefore if the miſfortunes and calamities of his poor Proteſtant Subjects there ſhall grow upon them (though his Majeſty ſhall be deeply concerned in, and ſenſible of their ſufferings) he ſhall waſh his hands before all the world from the leaſt imputation of ſlackneſſe, in that moſt neceſſary and pious work.

Obſervation.

A very pious work indeed, as himſelf ordered it, if you pleaſe to examine it to the bottome, then make your own judgement, whether it was not the Kings reach to gull the Parliament, by preſſing them to expedite the ſending of Forces to the relief of his poor Subjects of *Ireland*, and with ſuch words of pity and expreſſions of

his remorse, how deeply he was concerned therein, and how sensible of their sufferings and calamities, which might grow upon them, and just *Pilate*-like to wash his hands before all the world from the least imputation of slackness in him; when 'tis manifest his meaning was both to make use of any such forces as the Parliament should send over, against them, and consequently to dis-enable them the more in levyes here for their own defence against him, and his preparations, as it evidently appeared within 3. moneths after by the said seizure of the Horses, cloaths and provisions sent by *Chester*, as also by his remanding over the Regiments sent before into *Ireland* to make use of them, as it is visibly known he did, against the Parliament. But I pray extend your patience, and look farther into this darke worke of the Kings, take a short viewe of his next Message from *Nottingham*, where he erected his Standard, it bears date the 25. of *August* 1642. Next to this his Message of the 5th. of *Sept.* 1642. with another of the 11th. of

September

September following, in purſuance of the former, peruſe them all and you ſhal evidently ſee ſuch notable jugglings and *Matchivilian* diſſemblings, as would amaze any Chriſtian eye to behold them, compared with his actions, his Pourtraicture, and his own letters taken at *Naſeby*: I ſhall preſent them all in their order, *verbatim*, and firſt that of the 25 of *Auguſt* 1642. viz.

We have with unſpeakable griefe of heart long beheld the diſtraction of this our Kingdome, our very ſoul is full of anguiſh, untill we may finde ſome remedy to prevent the miſeries which are ready to overwhelm this Nation by a Civil War, and although all our indeavours tending to the compoſing of thoſe unhappy differences betwixt us and our two Houſes of Parliament (though purſued by us with all zeale and ſincerity) have been hitherto without the ſucceſſe we hoped for, yet ſuch is our conſtant & earneſt care to preſerve the publicke peace, that we ſhall not be diſcouraged to uſe any expedient, which by the bleſſing of the God of Mercy, may lay a hop-

py foundation of peace and happineſſe to all our good ſubjects. To this end, obſerving that many miſtakes have ariſen, by the Meſſages, Petitions, and Anſwers betwixt us and our two Houſes of Parliament, which happily may be prevented by ſome other way of treaty, wherein the matter in difference may be more clearly underſtood, & more freely tranſacted, we have thought fit to propound to you, that ſome fit perſons may be by you enabled, to treat with the like number to be authoriſed by us, in ſuch a manner and freedom of debate, as may beſt tend to that happy concluſion which all good men deſire (the peace of the Kingdom,) wherein as we promiſe in the word of a King, all ſafety and incouragement to ſuch as ſhall be ſent unto us, if you ſhall chuſe the place where we are for the Treaty; which we wholly leave to you, preſuming on the like care of the ſafety of thoſe we ſhall imploy, if you ſhall name another place: So we aſſure you, and all our good Subjects, that to the beſt of our underſtanding, nothing ſhall therein be wanting on our part, which may advance the true Proteſtant Religion, or

peſ

ſe Popery and Superſtition, ſecure the Law of the Land (upon which is built as well our juſt Prerogative, as the Propriety and liberty of the Subject) confirme all juſt power and Priviledges of Parliament, and render us and our people truly happy, by a good underſtanding betwixt us and our two Houſes of Parliament: Bring with you as firm reſolutions to doe your duty, and let our People joyn with us in our prayers to Almighty God for his bleſſing upon this worke; if this Propoſition ſhall be rejected by you, we have done our duty ſo amply, that God will abſolve us from the guilt of that blood which muſt be ſpilt, and whatſoever opinion other men may have of our power, we aſſure you nothing but our Chriſtian and pious care to prevent the effuſion of blood, hath begotten this motion, our proviſion of men, money and armes being ſuch as may ſecure us from further violence, til it pleaſe GOD to open the eyes of our People.

Not to trouble you with further ſearch, I ſhall preſent you that Meſſage of the 5th. of *September* 1642. in purſu-

purſuance of the former, together with that of the 11th. of the ſame Moneth, tending all to the ſame purpoſe, though the Obſervations on them you ſhall finde handled *ſeparatim*, and left to your more mature conſideration.

We will not repeat what meanes we have uſed to prevent the dangerous and diſtracted eſtate of the Kingdome, nor how theſe means have been interpreted, becauſe being deſirous to avoid effuſion of Blood, we are willing to decline all memory of former bitterneſſe, that might make our offer of a Treaty readily accepted: We did never declare, nor ever intended to declare both our Houſes of Parliament Traytors, or ſet up our Standard againſt them, and much leſſe to put them and this Kingdome out of our protection, wee utterly profeſſe againſt it, before God and the World; and farther to remove all poſſible ſcruples which may hinder the Treaty ſo much deſired of us, we hereby promiſe, ſo that a day be appointed by you, for the revoting of your Declarations againſt all perſons as Traytors, or otherwayes ſo

assisting of us, we shall with all chearfulnesse upon the same day recall our Proclamations and Declarations, and take down our Standard, in which Treaty we shall be ready to grant any thing that shall be really for the good of our Subjects, conjuring you to consider the bleeding condition of Ireland, *and the dangerous condition of* England, *in as high a degree, as by these our offers we have declared our self to do, and assuring you that our chief desire in this world is to beget a good understanding, and mutuall confidence, betwixt us and our two Houses of Parliament.*

Sebtemb. 5. 1642.

Who have taken most ways used most endeavours, and made most reall expressions to prevent the present distractions and dangers, let all the world judge, as well by former passages, as our two last Messages, which have been so fruitlesse, that (though wee have descended to desire and presse it) not so much as a Treaty can be obtained, unles we would denude our self of all force to defend us from a visible strength marching

ching against us, and admit those persons accompted Traytors to us, who according to their duty, their Oathes of Allegeance, and the Law, have appeared in defence of us their King and liege Lord (whom we are bound in Conscience and Honour to preserve) though we disclaimed all our Proclamations and Declarations, and erecting of our Standard, as against our Parliament; all we have left in our power is to expresse the deep sense we have of the publick misery of this Kingdom, in which is involved that of our distressed Protestants of Ireland, and to apply our self to our necessary defence; wherein we wholly rely on the providence of God, the Justice of our cause, and the Affection of our good people, so far we are from putting them out of our protection; when you shal desire a Treasury of us, wee shall piously remember whose blood is to be spilt in this Quarrel, and cheerfully embrace it; and as no other reasons induced us to leave our City of London, but that with honour and safety we could not stay there, nor to raise any force, but for the necessary defence of our Person and the Law, against Le-

nies in opposition to both, so We shall suddenly return to the one, and disband the other, as soon as those causes shall be removed: the God of Heaven direct you, and in mercy divert those judgements, which hang over the Nation, and deale so with us, and our posterity, as we desire the preservation and advancement of the true Protestant Religion, the Law, and the Liberty of the Subject, the just rights of Parliament, and the peace of the Kingdom.

Sept. 11. 1642.

Observations on the former three Messages of the Kings.

In these three Messages we have as specious and pious expressions (in shew) as possibly can be expected from a King that meant really as he writ, and said as he thought: But on a due consideration of all passages, and the subject matter in them contained, and as the case then stood betwixt him and the Parliament, with as much subtilty, craft and cunning, as can well be devised by the subtilest Disciple of *Machavill*.

I shall take the liberty to comment and prove the assertion, out of the first of these Messages of the 25 of August 1642. and so in order to the rest as they visibly shew out unto any rationall man their purport, without drawing other Conclusions than necessarily arise out of the expressions themselves, compared with the Kings other Declarations, his actions, and his own private Letters.

First he tels the Parliament, *With what unspeakeable griefe of heart he beheld the distractions of the Kingdom, untill he could find out a remedy to prevent the miseries which were ready to hang over the whole Nation by a civill Warre.* Where I pray tell me, who first gave the occasion, who raised those distractions, or made the first preparations to a civill warre, other than himselfe? Next he speaks of differences betwixt him and the Parliament, which he confesseth *have arisen through mistakes of the Messages, Petitions and Answers, betwixt him and his two Houses of Parliament, which he would have prevented*

a Treaty, wherein the matters in difference might be more clearly understood, and more freely transacted; And could there have been a more fitter place to debate them with honour and freedome, than in the Parliament? whither with welcome he might have come without the leaſt danger to his perſon, and whither he was ſo often and humbly invited to come, on no other conditions, but to make him great and glorious, and leaving Delinquents, which he protected againſt Law and Reaſon, to the diſcretion of the great Judicature of the Nation, which would have been both a ſafe, a profitable, and a ſhort courſe for him to have yeelded unto, and ſaved him the labour of a diſhonourable deſcending out of his dyning room, to diſpute thoſe differences with the States of the Kingdome in the Kitchin, and without ſo many impertinencies, ambages, and ſubterfuges wherewith he ſolaces himſelf, ſeemingly moving for authorizing of fit perſons on both ſides to debate the matter with freedome; a very fine way indeed, and about the wood, when

he might have ſate ſtill in peace and quietneſſe, and left the obliquities of the Church and State to thoſe to whom they properly belong'd to be diſputed, regulated, and ſet ſtraight; whilſt himſelf (without ſuch an unneceſſary and un-Kingly engagement) might have taken his pleaſure in hunting the Buck, rather than to have needleſly all that ſummer traverſed his ground, through ſo many Counties, in hunting after men to kill the beſt and moſt faithfull of his Subjects (could he have had the grace to have ſeen it) of his whole Kingdome. But then he comes to an other overture, that if on ſecuring of ſuch Treators as himſelfe ſhould chuſe, and the like ſafety by him given to ſuch as the Parliament ſhall deſign for a Treaty, then there ſhall be nothing wanting on his part to the advance of the true Proteſtant Religion, the Lawes, the Liberty of the Subject, and juſt Priviges of Parliament; as to Religion, can any man beleeve that knew how he was principled, that he would have yeelded to other than that formall

and

and prelaticall Proteſtantiſme which he had vowed to uphold? As to the Laws, ſhould they have beene other than ſhould ſtill have lain under his negative power? As to the Libertyes of the Subject, what ſhould they have been, more than the Militia his Sword then drawn againſt them would permit as he pleaſed to like or diſlike? As to the Privileges of Parliaments, which he takes care to confine with his Epithite (Juſt) in the promſe he makes, what ſhould they have been, but as they might ſuite to the beſt advantage of the Crown, and his unlimitable Prerogative? then he concludes, that if that Propoſition be rejected, he appeals to God and the World, that he had don his duty, which would abſolve him from the guilt of that blood which he ſayes muſt be ſpilt; aud I beleeve him, for it ſeems he meant then to ſpill blood (as he did afterwards, more than befitted a Chriſtian King) rather than to have miſt of the accompliſhment of any of his reſolutions, having ingraved on his Sword, *aut Cæſar, aut nullus*, *Cæſar*, or no body, to one

of which he attain'd; his cloſe ſeems to me both monitory and minitory, for he gives the Parliament to underſtand, how he was provided, and what they were to truſt to, in telling them aforehand, *That whatſoever opinion other men have of our power, our proviſion of men, money and arm, are ſuch, as may ſecure us from further violence, till it ſhall pleaſe God to open the eyes of our people*; a very brave invitation to peace, with the Sword in his hand, to inforce it, as he pleaſed to have it, and with an Army of 6000 Horſe, and 11000 Foot (as elſewhere he ſayes he had ready to chaſtiſe the Rebels;) But look over to his Chapter, upon ſeizing of the Forts. Caſtles, Navy and the Militia, there he diſclaimes to have had any other arms than thoſe of the Primitive Chriſtians (prayers and tears) againſt their Perſecutors, where he is pleaſed (in a ſtrange contradiction) to make that an Argument of his not raiſing the firſt War againſt the Parliament, though as it is well known at *Edgehill* he came with 20000 well armed men into the field, with a full reſolution

ſolution to beat the Parliament to fitters; how you will peece theſe contradictions together, I leave as a task to you, it being beyond my power to reconcile ſuch diſtant Aſſeverations.

Now to his Meſſage of the 5th of *Sept.* in purſuance of the former, he ſayes, *That he never did, or ever intended to declare both our Houſes of Parliament Traytors, or to ſet up our Standard againſt them*, and yet at that inſtant had proclaimed my Lord of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Stamford*, and all their Adherents Traytors, which neceſſarily muſt be intended the Parliament, for they Commiſſioned *Eſſex*, and raiſed their defenſive Army, which he fought with at *Edgehill*, and all along the competition ſtiles them Rebels; ſuch wide and bold contradictions, that no man knows where to him; find which puts me in mind what ſome of his own domeſtick ſervants have often averr'd, that they could not depend on any of his promiſes, or beleeve what he ſaid, and ſure I am, and enough there are of

no mean ranke and quality of his ſervants yet living, and in beggery; can witneſſe, and have ſad cauſe to remember, that his Letters Patents full dearly paid for and under his Broad ſeal, could not protect any of them from reſuming into his own hands; that he had a mind to, either to make uſe of them to his own advantage, or to confer them on others, as he was pleaſed, without other ſatisfaction, but with fruitleſſe promiſes, that they ſhould be conſidered. Next he goes on and ſayes, that on the Parliaments revocation of their Declarations, as Traytors, or otherwayes for aſſiſting of us, we will with cheerfullneſſe upon the ſame day, recall our Proclamations, and take downe our Standart; but note then, it neceſſarily followes, that it could not be erected but onely againſt the Parliament, unleſſe his meaning was to erect it againſt the Man in the Moon; but here you have the kernell of that nut, which ſtuck ſo faſt in the Kings ſtomack; and was it not a very fine and equall propoſition, to put the innocent,

cent and the nocent into the ballance, the juſt with the unjuſt, and either to make War, or free ſo many and hainous Delinquents that reſorted unto him, together with thoſe falſe and fugitive Lords and Commons, truſted by their Countreys, which by the laws of the Land ought not to have departed without leave of the Speaker, and that on urgent occaſion? Bethink your ſelf whether this Propoſition ſuited either with Reaſon, Honour, Conſcience, and the ancient uſage and Preſidents of Parliaments, or with the Kings Juſtice, to become the skreen to Delinquents of ſo high a ſtrain: but to the cloſe of this Meſſage, where he conjures the Parliament againe to conſider the bleeding condition of *Ireland*, and the dangerous condition of *England*, when as none but himſelf was guilty of that Phlebotomy, and he alone that firſt ſet them, and kept them a bleeding, ſo long, as that to ſtanch the veyne, the State could not deviſe a better cure, than to let out his blood, which had let out ſo much throughout the three Kingdoms,

domes, as would have dyed the vaſt Ocean into crimſon.

But briefly to his next Meſſage of the 11th of *Sept.* 1642. where all the world may ſee where the Remora lay that ſtaid him from comming to the Parliament, untill he had provided for the indempnity of all thoſe perſons, &c. which he ſayes *were accounted Traytors to us, Who according to their duty, their Oaths of Allegiance, and the Law, have appeared in defence of us their King and Liege Lord (whom we are bound in Conſcience and Honor to preſerve.)* So that it here appeares plainly, that no other obſtacles then ſtood in the way of his returne to the Parliament, but the abſolute Indempnity of all that had appeared in his defence, according to their duty, oaths, & Law, as he would have it beleeved; his pretended fear of Tumults are not here in queſtion, neither any other materiall exception, but the indempnity of his Partizans, (a goodly Honour and Conſcience) could he have brought ſo great a party with Indempnity into *London* and to the Parliament, it ſeems

then

then he doubted not but to make his party good with, or without fighting, and what betweene their owne power, and his fraud, its plain that he thought in time he ſhould be enabled to over-power the Parliament, and to carry all other things anſwerable to his will and hearts deſire; but by what law could thoſe fugitive Members depart the Houſe, and flye to him? and by what Law could hee protect them which had falſified their Truſt? was it their duty to run to him at a call, who before againſt his duty and his Oath ran from the Parliament, under ſubterfuges, and pretence of Tumults, and upon no other ground, but by his abſence and noncurrence (as he was made to beleeve) to make the Parliament no more than a cypher and that then they neither could or durſt act in a doyt without him? but having by this time ſeen his own errour, and that the Parliament would and did tranſact without him, and that in want of his concurrence the people concurr'd with them in the defence of the publick liberty; he then

inſiſts

insists on no other scruple than Indempnity for all his party; and here we come to a pure peece of Non-sense, where he sayes, *No other reason induced us to leave our City of* London, *but that with Honour and Safety wee could not stay there, nor to raise any force, but for the necessary defence of our person, and the Law, against levies in opposition to both*: As to his leaving of the City, and the Parliament, that pretence is clearly evinc't, by his own former overture of comming to them on condition of the Parliaments withdrawing their Proclamations, against the Delinquents, and fugitive Members, but as to his raising of force for the necessary defence of his person and the Law, both the reason (if there be any) and coherence are at so wide and wild a distance, as that I beleeve the quaintest of his Secretaryes, or him that writ it, on a review of the Incongruity, would be ashamed to own his own work; and observe it for a knowne truth to all the Kingdome, did not he first raise a party of Cavaliers to assault the House, to beat and kill the

poor

poor petitioning people, before ever the Parliament had ſo much as a thought of raiſing one man, when himſelf was provided with 300 deſperat ruffians, fit and ready to attempt any bold Aſſaſſination? and what one man before himſelf began had offended him, that he of neceſſity muſt raiſe a force to defend his perſon and the Law? was it Law, when as at *London* he found himſelfe deceived to raiſe a ſtrength ſufficient to quaſh the Parliament, and againſt the Legiſlative power it ſelf, but he muſt run into the North, and round about half of his Kingdom to do it, and miſſing his ayms, to come at laſt and ſo often with flam's and overtures for a Treaty, which he never really meant, or intended, otherwiſe than in ſubtilty & his wonted fetches to decoy the Parliament and people into a belief of his deepe ſenſe of the bleeding condition of the Kingdoms, of which no Prince Chriſtian could be more careleſſe, as it evidently appears by all his actions, examined in the right ſenſe of his own meaning, as anon ſhall be manifeſtly demonſtrated out of his own

refuſall

refuſall of the Parliaments petitions
As to the Levyes made by the Parlia-
ment in oppoſition to him and th
Lawes, he might have remembred, tha
none made Levies either againſt hi
or the Law, more than his own law-
leſſe Will, and that the Parliamen
made no ſooner Levies than it becam
them, to oppoſe his Levies, raiſed againſ
them and the known Laws of the Land;
and that notwithſtanding all thoſe ſpe-
cious and umbragious Meſſages ſen
to the Parliament for Peace and Ac-
commodation, tending to no other
end than to rocke the Parliament a
ſleep, and by his then frequent *placen-
tias* to lull them into a ſlack and neg-
ligent remiſſnes, in raiſing defenſive
arms againſt his Forces, whilſt himſelf
by protracting of time, might attract
ſuch an Army as would inable him to
overpower both the Parliament, and
whatſoever Forces were (as he ſayes)
then in their march againſt him, which
he had no ſooner drawn together, but
out of his confidence to have bea-
ten the Parliaments Army to peeces;
not eight dayes before *Edgehill* fight
in

not onely utterly refuſed their Pe-
tion, which would have been preſen-
to him by the mediation of the
Earl of *Dorſet*, (for he had a good
ace before refuſed all accommodati-
n,) but ſent *Rupert* to the Commiſſa-
Generall (who was to deliver it) to
ll the Earl of *Eſſex*, then at *Worce-*
r, that he would not receive any
ore Petitions from him or any of
e Parliament Rebels of them all: A
nown truth to many yet living, and
me of them ſitting at preſent in Par-
ament, whereby it manifeſtly ap-
ears, that all his former and many
Miſſives, under the umbrage of
eace, were mere dalliances, both
mock the Parliament, and to coſen
e people into a belief of his reality
nd good meaning, when he meant
othing more than to bob the Parli-
ment by cunning and ſecret fraud,
ntill he might ruine them by plaine
nd open force, and then to purſue
hoſe naturalized appetites, and arbi-
rary deſignes of his, which ſo long
before he had cheriſhed in his heart,
which neither his Honour, Reaſon,

and

and his Conſcience, (whereof ſo often he talks) could prevail with him to diſgorge, untill their over-growth inforced him to an untimely vomit.

'Tis moſt true, that they which look on the firſt face of things, and heed only the outſide of objects, without an intentive eye on their in-ſides, are eaſily deceived; but ſuch as will narrowly looke into all his Expreſſes, compared with his deeds, ſhall doubtleſſe ſoon finde, that this unhappy King was one of the deepeſt and boldeſt diſſemblers, of any one Prince which the laſt Century hath produced; and I am prone to beleeve, that he took too much of the patterne of *Lewis* th'eleventh of *France*, who was wont to ſay, that he deſired to leave his Sonne no other Learning, than *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare*, he that knows not to diſſemble, knowes not how to play the King; and it hath been feared, and by thoſe which wiſhed him well, that he was too much verſed in the principles of *Machiavill*, having in his life time practiſed, and ſince his death left behind him ſo many evidences

idences thereof, that many of the beſt heads have been induced to believe, that he came not behind any of the *ITALIAN* Polititians of his age.

But to take all theſe his three Meſſages together, conſidered by any diſcreet man, as their purport tends to one and the ſelfeſame end, and the time when they were ſent to the parliament, all of them, whilſt he was moſt buſie and ſedulouſly ſtudious, how and where to raiſe Forces both at home and abroad, and it evidently ſhews, that his intent in all his ſpecious overtures of peace, were to no other end, than to befool the People and Parliament, which he then began to know would not be coſened, as having had ſufficient experience of him; praſtiſe indeed he might (as he failed not) to continue to delude the vulgar beleef, and to keep in with the people; but he then found there was no good to be done on a Court of Parliament, for he perceived they meant not further to truſt him, than they ſaw him; and to have yeelded to a treaty circumſcribed

with

with ſuch large conditions, and ſo unequally ballanced, as to admit of ſuch as he ſhould ſend to treat with them out of Parliament, which not unlikely would have been of thoſe that had both deſerted the Parliament and falſified their faith, which to have indempnified, and all other Delinquents as had repaired unto his aſſiſtance, (otherwiſe no peace with him) what effects could a Treaty produce, (ſo much upbraided (by his party) on the Parliament for refuſing it) other than mockery? when himſelf knew, as well as themſelves, that they would not yeeld unto ſuch a motion, neither himſelf goe leſſe than to take off all the Delinquents with impunity againſt all reaſon, law, and the antient preſidents of all former Parliaments; that alone being the greateſt breach of privilege that ever was offered to a Court of Parliament, and ſuch a deſtructive project to the eſſence and being of Parliaments, as in the future to take away all power and privilege from them, and neceſſarily conferr'd it on his own uſurped Prerogative, his negative

ire claim being no more, and ſcarce ſo much to enable him to doe in the future as he liſted, when as every vul-ar ſpirit knowes it for Law, that the King cannot, neither ever durſt any of our Kings, reſcue one Priſoner at the Bar, out of the hands of Juſtice, in any of the inferiour Courts of the King-dome, ('Tis true, that *Henry* of *Mon-mouth* being a rude Prince, though after tollerable King, came openly and with violence to the Kings Bench in *Weſtminſter* Hall, and reſcued *Poynes* his Servant, arraigned (for robbing and taking away the Kings Treaſure) at the Bar; but the ſtory tells us, that the Judges laid the Prince by the heels for his pains, and his Father the King thankt them for it.) much leſſe then that this King ſhould preſume to reſcue ſo many viperous Delinquents out of the juſtice of the great Judicature of the Nation, which all of common rea-ding know have acted ſundry times in ſuch a power, as to depoſe ſeverall of his Anceſtors for their Tyrannies, and hanged many of their chiefe Inſtru-ments: Preſidents which with good

reaſon he might have more timely remembred, and not have ſtood with his Sword in his hand to inforce ſo unjuſt, ſenſleſſe and unreaſonable a Propoſition for a Treaty.

Obſervations on the Kings Pourtreſture.

THe Kings Book, which hath flown abroad, and throughout the Kingdom, as it were between the wings of *Mercury*, and hath ſo much taken in the opinion of the vulgar beliefe, and eſteemed to be ſuch an impregnable rampier, incirculating his innocency, that it hath been thought not aſſaultable; I confeſſe at the firſt ſight thereof it took for a while, as his proteſtations formerly had done, in many apprehenſions; but on a ſecond conſideration of the title (The Kings Image) with the dreſſe that is beſtowed upon his Effigies in a poſture of devotion, in imitation of *David* in his ejaculations to Heaven, ſurely I could not beleeve that ſuch a peece of vanity was of the Kings deſignment, but the meer jug-

ling

ſing deviſe of ſome hypocriticall or Mahometan Impoſtor, the better to ſtir up the People and vaine beholders to pitty him: But entring into the Body of the Book, and conſidering the choyſe of the many Subjects whereof it treats, the whole contexture whereof hath already been ſufficiently handled without mittens by a Gentleman of ſuch abilities as gives place to none for his integrity, learning and judgment; yet on re-conſideration of the whole (amongſt others of his Chapters) coming to that of (liſting of Armies) and in that to his Interrogations, *Whoſe innocent blood hath he ſhed? what Widowes or Orphants teares can witneſſe againſt me?* Doubtleſſe were there no other evidence throughout all the whole book (as God knowes every page yeelds plenty of ſuch impudences) thoſe two Interrogatories would be ſufficient to prove him one of the bloudieſt out-facers of truth that ever was known in the world. Paſſing by his own acknowledgment, that himſelfe firſt began the late Warre, and conſequently guilty of all the innocent

blood ſpilt throughout the three Kingdomes, it would not be amiſſe to retort his own Interrogatories, and to aske wether there be any one Family or Kindred throughout three Kingdoms, that yeelds not a Father, Mother, Brother, Siſter, or a Kinſman, whoſe tears have not cryed to Heaven for the infinity of blood ſpilt through his willfullneſſe, or for the wounds, or loſſe of Limbs of ſo many throughout the Land we which ſee dayly haulting & crutching it in hoſpitalls, and in every of our ſtreets; and hath there been no Widdowes or Orphans tears ſhed, or no complaints made to himſelfe for the goods taken violently from them, and fireing of numberleſſe habitations by his own mercileſſe Souldiers Commiſſioned by himſelfe, yea commanded to be put in execution, as it may be inſtanced in thouſands of ſad examples, yea by poor Widdowes crying and kneeling unto him for the rapines committed either in his owne ſight, or by his permiſſion, when they received no other anſwer, but his turning about from their lamentations,

and

and saying that he did it not, when it
in his power, and by his oath and
ty he stood bound to see it redrest,
ich he never was knowne to hav e
e, but to slight whatsoever com-
ints were addrest unto him of that
ture? And was he ever knowne to
are either friend or foe, where money
as to be had to prosecute his perfidi-
s and bloody designs, which he took
t? Amongst thousands of presidents
this nature, did he spare Mr. *Af-
am*, a knowne Royalist, and one
at assisted him in his bloody Wars,
when he sent *Rupert*, that plundering
insman of his, to rifle the Gentlemans
ouse at *Layford* in the County of
erks, who took from him ten thou-
and pounds at once in ready money,
nd out of his bounty (whereof he
as very seldome knowne to be over
beral) sent back the tenths there-
as a divident between his two un-
arried daughters, and that also on
reat sute made unto him, and the
ars of the Gentlewomen themselves
t he would be pleased to consider
en distressed condition? with what

face could he ſo much as pretend to innocency, or appeal to the witneſſe of any Widowes or Orphans tears, when tis openly knowne, that he never ſpared any mans blood in his wrath, who was in arms againſt him, otherwiſe than for his own ends, and ſafety of ſuch of his owne ſide as the Parliament had in their cuſtody? when he had granted out Commiſſions of *Oyer* and *Determiner* to his chief Iuſtice *Heath* and others to hang all ſuch as had oppoſed his Tyranny in taking the Parliaments part, untill he was induced to retract thoſe Commiſſions in regard that two for one of his owne might happily by his own Preſident have gone to the Gallowes? and doe not his own Letters to the Queen confirm his reſolution to take money whereſoever he could find it, when he tells her that his only want was mony, which good Swords and Piſtolls would fetch in? and hath not the practice of all his barbarous Warres verified as much as he therein ſooths up himſelfe to be ſupplyed either by hooke or crooke? If no innocent blood can be

found

found to witneſſe againſt him, let the ghoſts of 200000 poor Innocent ſouls, barbarouſly butchered in *Ireland* ſpeake; if no Widowes or Orphans tears can witneſſe againſt him, let the dum ſtones of thoſe demoliſhed palaces of *Raſing*, *Ragland*, *Belvoyer*, and infinite others ſpeak. where thoſe formidable garriſons of his were made to the terror and damage of all men in their vicinity, and whoſe reducing coſt ſo much innocent blood. Neither let thoſe great Lords and prime Gentlemen of this Kingdome, whoſe Lands and totall Inheritances are lately voted to be ſold, in reparation of the publick loſſes, and in defence of the generall intereſt of the Commonwealth (changed) when it could not otherwiſe ſubſiſt, but by rooting up his tyrannous monarchy, be ſilent; And if no other tears of Widdowes & orphans can be found to accuſe him, let his ambition, injuſtice, oppreſſion, rapine, and bloodſhed ſpeak, let that vaſt number of Gentlemen which have made their compoſitions (for ſyding with him in his unjuſt and deſtructive

Warres at Goldſmiths hall, ſpeak of be ſilent, whoſe Wives and Children live in want, and happily not without tears enough for the indigence where unto they are reduced through his only means.

Now if all theſe ſad inſtances be the effects and Trophies of his ſeventeene years reigne, which he boaſts that the people enjoyed in ſuch meaſure of peace, juſtice and plenty, as all the neighbour Nations have either admired or envied; and if this his Pourtracture and Image be that monument which his friends, ſince his death, or rather before, had prepared in readineſſe, and ſtolen the pattern from *Mecha*, and to hang it in that his ayrery Mahometan regality, ſupported by this their impoſtured Loadſtone, whereby to preſent his ſacred memory, in his Solitudes, to poſterity, ſurely it may be ſuſpected, they were not ſo exactly their Crafts-maſters, or ſo much his friends as foes, to Saint him before his time, and in ſuch a ſhrine, as neceſſarily muſt render him to future times (infamous) an impar-

ralelld

falelld diſſembler, and a greater deceiver than *Mahomet* ever was, and of the number of thoſe of whom the Prophet * *David* makes mention, which *ſpeake peace to their Neighbours, when miſchief was in their hearts*, (as all the world knows he hath too often practiſed to his people and Parliaments) when as it would have much better beſeme him to have left out his many Pharaſicall juſtifications, and to have remembred, *that he which covereth his ſins ſhall not proſper, but who ſo confeſſeth and forſaketh them ſhall have mercy*; this had been the better way to have invited others to have ſpoken leſſe and more favourable of him, than now in conſcience they ought, having ſuch an artificiall and fac'd peece of impudent juſtifications, expoſed and ſet forth purpoſely to deceive the poore people, and to affront truth, and the evident managery of his bloody and licentious reigne, which neceſſarily to the Worlds end will give an occaſion to rippe up his life, and ſhew to the preſent and after ages, what a Tombe theſe jugling impoſtors

* Pſal. 28 3.

Prover. 28. 13.

sters have erected for him; and with what Epitaphes of impiety, injustice, blood and rapine, it will be adorned, instead of that glory wherewith they intended to perpetuate to his memory; though sufficient and enough hath already been written, in discovery of this grand Impostur, and to every peece and parcell thereof so much answered as may satisfie all men in their right witts; as to others that are out of them, and have a desire to be cosened out of their understandings, I think an Asian beliefe would better fit them than an European Faith, a gallymaufried Alcoran, rather than a true and rationall Remonstrance, drest with no other Rhetorick than the naked truth; and shall men be silent when they see it overborne with the multitudinous denyalls, flams, and falshoods of his defeated and malitious parties?

Observa-

Obſervations on the Kings going into the Scotch *Army.*

THe Kings diſguized going from *Oxford* into the *Scotch* Army then at *Newark*, as it was one of his laſt ſhifts, ſo was it a very ſhrewd one (conſidered as he had laid the deſign) That he went firſt to them was doubtleſſe more out of an apprehenſion and confidence he had to gain them to his aſſiſtance, than out of any great good will he bore towards them; but ſure it was out of an inveterate hatred he bare towards the Parliament, the evidence of this truth manifeſtly appears by the Kings Letter to *Ormond*, Number 27. from *Oxford*, *April* the 3d. 1646. I ſhall preſent you with the principall part thereof, at your own leiſure you may peruſe the whole, *viz.*

Having lately received very good ſecurity, that we and all that do adhere to us, ſhall be ſafe in their Perſons, Honours and Conſciences in the Scotch *Army, and that they ſhall really and effectually joyn with us, and with ſuch as will come*

come unto us, and joyn with them, for our preservation, and shall imploy their Army and Forces to assist us to the procuring of a happy and well-grounded Peace for the good of us and our Kingdoms in the recovery of our just Right, we have resolved to put our selves to the hazard of passing into the Scotch *Army now lying before* Newarke, *and if it shall please God that we come safe thither, we are resolved to use our best endeavour with their assistance, and with the conjunction of the Forces under the Marquesse of* Montrosse, *and such of our well-affected Subjects of* England *as shall rise for us, to procure it may be an honourable and speedy Peace with those who hitherto refused to give ear to any means tending thereunto; of which our resolution, we hold it necessary to give you this advertisement, as well to satisfie you, and all our Councell and loyall Subjects with you, and to whom we will that you communicate these our Letters; yet failing in our earnest and sincere endeavours by a Treaty to put an end to the miseries of these our Kingdomes, we esteemed our self obliged, to*

leave

leave no probable expedient unattempted to preſerve our Crowne and Friends from the Vſurpation and Tyranny of thoſe, whoſe actions declare ſo manifeſtly their deſigns to overthrow the Laws and happy eſtabliſhed Government of this Kingdome; And now wee have made known to you our reſolution, we recommend to your ſpeciall care the diſpoſing and managing our affairs on that ſide, as that you ſhall conceive moſt for our Honour and Service, being confident the courſe we have taken (though with ſome hazard to our perſon) will have a good influence on that our Kingdome, and defer, if not altogether prevent, the Rebels tranſporting of Forces from them into that Kingdom; And we deſire you to ſatisfie all our well-affected Subjects on that ſide, of our Princely care of them, whereof they ſhall receive the effect, as ſoon as God ſhall enable us.

Obſervations.

We have here a moſt quaint piece of *Machiaviliſme*, moulded under the Kings wonted and ſpecious pre-

tences

tences of the care he had for the good of his Subjects, in procuring an honourable peace, and for recovery of his juſt Rights from thoſe (as he ſayes) which hitherto refuſed to give way to any means tending thereunto: But obſerve how he intended to accompliſh this peace, and to put an end to the miſeries of the Kingdom, and you ſhall evidently ſee, that it was out of an aſſurance he had to win the Scots to ſide with him in a new War, and in cauſing them to break their Faith plighted to the Parliament, when at that very time they were to receive 300000 l. towards their entertainment; this being but a piece of his deſign, for to that aſſiſtance he flattered himſelf to receive from the Scots, he alſo builds on that mercileſſe Army under *Montroſſe*, and ſuch of his well-affected Subjects of the Engliſh as ſhall riſe for us, (they are his own words) Speak your Conſcience, was not this a fine plot think you, to procure an honourable and ſpeedy peace, when his ends were as viſible as the Sun ſhine to continue the Warre, and to

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pollute the Land with more blood under his wonted umbragious pretences of peace, and (as he ſays) to recover his juſt rights? and what were thoſe rights, more than by a new Stratagem to overmaſter all under his power? or at leaſt to enforce ſuch a peace, as might ſuite to his own deſires? then he comes to ſay that he hath left no means unattempted, and I beleeve it in his own ſence, and that was in the conjunction of both thoſe Armies, and his inviting of all his well-affected Subjects in *England* to riſe for us; and in purſuance of this deep plot he commands *Ormond* to communicate his Letters to the Councell there, and to all his Well-affected Subjects of *Ireland*, that they might know how carefull he was of them, by the confidence he had in that courſe, and what a good Influence it would have on that Kingdom, *viz.* in the deferring, if not to the utter diſappointing of the Rebels tranſporting of ſupplyes to the relief of the diſtreſſed poor Proteſtants of *Ireland*, and deſires that all his Well-affected Subjects there ſhould take notice of his

his Princely care of them, whereof they ſhould receive the effects ſo ſoon as God ſhould enable him; a very Princely care indeed if you mark it: but you may here ſee that God would not be mockt, neither enable him in his miſchievous projects. Speak freely, whether this King meant well, or acted like a Chriſtian in his treacherous endeavour to divert in what poſſibly he could deviſe the Parliaments Forces, ſent for the aſſiſtance of their poor Brethren of *Ireland*, when as he had ſo often proteſted, and born the Parliament in hand how deſirous and carefull he was to expedite their ſupplyes thither, and by an Act of his own Aſſent had impowred the Parliament therewith, which here againe (in his wonted language) he calls Rebels, to ſpeed their recruits againſt thoſe which he then ſtiles his Well-affected Subjects: On the conſideration of the premiſſes, I pray tel me, where is that Sophiſter to be found, that can handſomely make an Apology for ſuch foul diſſimulations? If you cannot finde any, I will point you to himſelfe, as you

you may ſee it in his Pourtraicture, *Chap. XXII.* on his going into the *Scotch* Army, where he ſayes, *That what Providence denyes to force, it may grant to prudence; neceſſity is now my chiefeſt Counſellour, and commands me to ſtudy my ſafety by a diſguized withdrawing from my chiefeſt ſtrength, and adventuring on their Loyalty which firſt began my troubles.*

Here you have an Apology of his owne, though ſurely it is a very poore one; where firſt I pray make your own judgement, whether the *Scots* began his troubles, or he theirs? if you doubt on't, *Straffords*, and the late Arch-Biſhops Ghoſts will witneſſe, that he would not ſuffer them to be at quiet; But what prudence was that when he could no longer ſtand up to three Kingdomes at once, then to put himſelf on the precipice of neceſſity, and for his ſafety to goe into the *Scotch* Army? and why not firſt into his Throne in the Parliament houſe at *Weſtminſter*? from whence he fled, as from a Serpent, and by a thouſand moſt humble Petitions, and

motions, was invited to returne with welcome, untill he had wilfully and moſt perverſly made himſelf uncapable of acceptance, and ſo imbrued himſelf and the three Kingdoms with the loathſome leproſie of Innocent blood, that with *Vzziah* he had made himſelfe more fit for a Cloyſter, than a Palace. I pray ſpeake your owne judgement, whether this his prudence was any other than an indefatigable purſuance to fulfill his own will, in re-involving the Kingdomes in a more direfull War, than he had done before? and could Providence doe leſſe than to deny him ſafety? when all his ſtudies were devoted to find out any means to diſturbe the Kingdomes peace and ſafety, and to deſtroy Parliaments, whereby to make himſelf an abſolute Monarch, and of a King of Gentlemen and Freemen, to become a Tyrant over ſo many inanimated Slaves; you may without injuſtiee avouch it, that none of his courſes were like to thrive, when they were continually known to be accompanied with a ſpirit of errour, and that the effects and ends of ſtudying his

his own ſafety chiefly conſiſted in malice, and laying of new ſnares to catch others in, in which Providence thought it moſt fit, that himſelfe ſhould firſt be taken.

Obſervations on the Iriſh Rebellion.

IT is without all queſtion, that the King was more indulgent towards the Iriſh bloud-thirſty Rebells, than ſuited with his publick profeſſions and often proteſtations; I ſhall not ſay ſo much in projecting that horrible Maſſacre of the Engliſh there, as in protecting thoſe Rebels after the fact was committed, having (to uſe his own expreſſion) ſuch viſible deſigns and ends of his owne, as from the very beginning of the War, and before, to make uſe of their ſervice againſt the Engliſh and their Repreſentative, as that in any impartiall eye could neither look handſome or ſuitable to the Religion he profeſſed. To treat of the originall ground of this

riſing, or to point out the Author and the authority by which thoſe vile Caytiffes enterpriſed on ſo barbarous an act, is more than I ſhall heere deliver, for this is as yet a hidden peece of villany, although this I can affirm from the mouth of a Gentleman well borne, though I dare not ſay of any great credit, that before the Kings going into SCOTLAND, and before the flight of the Lord *Iermin*, he being then a kind of an attendant on the Queen, and having many times admiſſion into Maſter *Iermins* Chambers, averres, that he ſaw nine ſeverall Commiſſions ſealed in Maſter *Iermins* lodging, for ſo many Regiments to be commanded by the like number of Colonels in *Ireland*, whereof one was to Colonel *Plunket*, but with what ſeals the Gentleman hath not declared, neither do I believe that he was able to diſtinguiſh between the Broad and the Privy ſeale: But this is moſt manifeſtly knowne, that the Rebels for a long time, and at the very beginning of their riſiug ſtyled themſelves the King and Queens Army.

my, and that they had good authority for doing that which they had done; and this is moſt perſpicuous, that the King himſelfe was aſhamed to be ſeen or to own his owne worke, and with what inſtructions and Commiſſions he had impowred the Marqueſſe of *Ormand*, as in his own private Letter to him evidently appears, Number 22. December 13. 1644. from *Oxford*, *viz.*

I hope my publick diſpatch will give you ſufficient inſtructions and power, yet I have thought it neceſſary, for your more incouragement in this neceſſary worke, to make this addition with my own hand; as for Poynings *act, I referre you to my other Letters, and for matter of Religion, though I have not found it fit to take publick notice of the paper which* Browne *gave you, yet I muſt command you to give him, my Lord* Muskery, *and* Plunket *particular thanks for it, aſſuring them that without it there could be no peace, and that ſticking to it, their Nation in generall, and they in particular, ſhould have comfort in what they have done,*

and to shew that this is more than Words, I do promise them, and command you to see it done, that the Penal Statutes against Roman Catholicks shall not be put in execution, the Peace being made, and they remaining in their due obedience; and further, when the Irish *gives me that assistance which they have promised, for the suppression of this Rebellion, and I shall be restored to my rights, then I will consent to the repeal of them by Law, but all those of Appeals to* Rome *and Premunire must stand; all this in Cipher you must impart to none, but to those three already named, and that with injunction of strict secrecy; so againe recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the Peace of* Ireland, *and my necessary supply from thence, as I wrote to you in my last Letter, I rest.*

Observations.

We have here in the first place, a manifestation of the Kings close and serpentine windings, in the next his injunction of strict secrecy to *Ormond*, that

that that which he had written in Cipher, ſhould not be imparted to any, but *Muskery*, *Browne*, and *Plunket*, three of the moſt deſperate Rebels in that Kingdom, which cannot poſſibly ſtand with the Kings innocency, neither with the breach of his faith with the Parliament and people, or with God in point of his proteſtations to maintain the true Proteſtant Religion, where it is evident, that he plaid faſt and looſe on all hands as beſt ſuited with his neceſſary affairs and worke, (as he calles it) all his ends tending to this only center, to gaine the Iriſh Rebels to his aſſiſtance againſt the Parliament at any rate, though to the prophanation of Religion, and his breach of faith with God and man, as inſtantly you may ſee fearfully proteſted, at the receiving the Sacrament at *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford* 1643. at the hands of the Biſhop of *Armagh*, where, immediately before his communicating, (he beckoning to the Biſhop for a ſhort forbearance) uſed theſe following expreſſions, *viz.*

My Lord, *I eſpie here many reſol-*

ved Proteſtants, who may declare to the world the reſolution I do now make; I have to the uttermoſt of my power prepared my Soule to become a worthy receiver, and may I ſo receive comfort by the bleſſed Sacrament, as I do intend the eſtabliſhment of the true reformed Religion, as it ſtood in its beauty in the happy dayes of Queen Elizabeth, *without any connivance at Popery; I bleſſe God, that in the midſt of theſe publique diſtractions, I have ſtill liberty to communicate, and may this Sacrament be my damnation if my heart joyne not with my lips in this Proteſtation.*

Obſervation.

Having ſeriouſly conſidered this ſtrange Proteſtation of the Kings, on the the taking of the Sacrament, with the imprecation of his damnation, if his heart joyned not with his lips, as I compared it with his letter after to *Ormond*, together with his many other Proteſtations I profeſſe in the faith of a Chriſtian, I ſtood amazed what to think of him, and his Religi-

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on; conſidered againe, as it was taken before a publick audience, and yet the very next yeare after, he makes no ſcruple or conſcience to promiſe to *Ormond* the repeal of all laws againſt Iriſh Papiſts; and likewiſe in his Letter to the Queen of the 9th. of March 1645. he gives way to her to promiſe in his name, the taking away of all penall Laws againſt the Engliſh Papiſts, ſo that they ſhall inable him to doe it; where it ſeemes he makes no manner of account of a Parliament, without which, as already is ſaid, never any King of *England* either made or repealed any one Law, ſurely tis heer very plaine, that he underſtood not the extent of his own power, neither the nature of the Engliſh Soveraignty, or that he was diſpoſed not to know it, but to rule without Parliaments, provided, that by the aſſiſtance of Papiſts he might be impowred to do it, and then that his will ſhould be a Law to the people; juſt Tyrant like, *ſtat pro ratione voluntas*; but take the reſt of his Letter to *Ormond* into your more

more mature conſideration, and then happily it will aſtoniſh you, where he haſtens him to clap up the Peace with the Rebels, which ſo ſoon as it ſhall be accompliſhed (he vowes *hæc verba*, in his Letter to him Number 23 January 7. 1644.) *All the earth ſhall not make me breake it; but not doubting of a peace, I muſt againe remember you to preſſe the Iriſh for their ſpeedy aſſiſtance to me here, and their friends in* Scotland, *my intention being to draw from thence into* Wales (*the peace once concluded*) *as many as I can of my armed Proteſtant ſubjects; and I deſire the Iriſh would ſend as great a body as they can to land about* CVMBERLAND.

Obſervation.

Here againe we have a ſufficient proof of this moſt unfortunate Princes inflexibility, his reſolutions once fixt, there were no hopes of their alteration (they are his owne words) all the earth ſhal not make me break it, though ſuch reſolutions breake him in pieces, and

and ſure we are many thoulands of his poor innocent Subjects through this only fault of his obſtinacy. Tis an infallible truth, that the wilfull man never wants woe; but when one mans perverſe will ſhall be the cauſe of the deſtruction of multitudes, that's a fearfull judgement and a remedileſſe calamity. We have allſo in this Letter an evident teſtimony, what an inveterat hatred he bare towards the Engliſh Nation, and thoſe Scots which took their parts, which he hated beyond belief, and all others which never ſo little fell a thwart his inclinations, where I ſhall crave your favour to tell all of you that ſided with him, (haply more for your own ends than out of conſcience) for it is moſt certaine, that he made no other accompt of you, but to ſatisfie his own luſt, in your deſtruction, whatſoever he pretended, and to prove this, I will tell you a true ſtory, and it is this; On the death of the late Earle of *Northampton*, whoſe Commands in one of his Forreſts he preſently gave away, of which *Endimion Porter* underſtanding, preſt him that

that the young Earle his ſonne, whoſe father was then newly ſlaine in his ſervice, was fit to have that conferred on him than on any other, on which check of *Porters* he replyed, and hath the Earle done more than became him, to dye for his King? This is no fable, but a knowne truth, whereby you may gueſſe how he eſteemed of you all, as if his Subjects were a ſort of Sheep ordained to the ſlaughter, for the obtaining of his luſtful pleaſure, and not him, as the Shephard ordained to preſerve them as that flock committed to his care and charge from God himſelfe; you may inſtantly find this very ſtory verified and ſet out unto the life in his former Letter, in which with what earneſtneſſe he preſſes ORMOND, to haſten over the Iriſh to his aſſiſtance, yea to bring over as many of his armed Proteſtants to land in *Wales*, as might inable him to overpower both nations to his abſolute domination and revenge. A moſt brutiſh reſolution, and of purpoſe to reſet all his Kingdoms on a light fier, in ſetting

ting of Proteſtants againſt Proteſtants, and Papiſts againſt both; you may further obſerve, how his diſpleaſure grew to be ſo implacable againſt the Scots his native Subjects, and to lay his deſigne to deſtroy them together with his Engliſh Subjects, and the reaſon of this you may perfectly ſee, in his Letter to *Ormond*, Number 25. Feb. 25. 1647. *viz.* *I do therefore command you to conclude a Peace with the Iriſh whatſoever it coſt, ſo that my Proteſtant Subjects there may be ſecured, and my regall Authority preſerved; but for all this you are to make the beſt bargaine you can, and not diſcover your enlargement of power, till you needs muſt, and although I leave the Managing of this great and neceſſary work, intirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the ſuſpenſſion of* Poynings *act, for ſuch bil, as ſhal be agreed upon theres and the preſent taking away of the penall Lawes againſt Papiſts by a Law, will do it, I ſhall not think it a hard bargaine, ſo that freely and vigorouſly they ingage themſelves in my aſſiſtance; againſt my Rebells of* England *and* Scotland; *for which*

which no condition can be to hard, not being againſt Conſcience and Honour.

Obſervation.

You may firſt obſerve in this Letter the large extent of the Kings Conſcience and Honour, in the next place his ſeeming care for the preſervation of his Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, with a purpoſe rather to make uſe of them againſt their Brethren of *England*, than to leave them in *Ireland* for their own defence, where their ſervice was much more neceſſary, than to be imployed in the ſlaughtering of the Engliſh, with the hazard of their own lives, and for no other end, but to advance their own prodigious, and bloody deſigns; for obſerve it in the former Letter, he manifeſtly declares his reſolution, to call them over to his aſſiſtance, and heere he tells it, that as to the Iriſh, if the taking away of *Poynings* act, and the penall Statutes againſt Papiſts by a Law will do it, he ſhall not thinke it a hard bargaine, provided they freely and vi-

vigorouſly engage againſt his Engliſh and Scotiſh Rebels, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being againſt Conſcience and Honour; here you may ſafely aver is one of the ſtrangeſt Conſciences, and an Honour ſo illimitable, as that I am confident, the ſubtilleſt Logitian in his *Oxford* Garriſon, would be driven to his *ne plus ultra*, to give either of them a right definition, that cloſe of not being againſt Conſcience or Honour (conſidered with his former commands to *Ormond*) without doubt is one of the fineſt peeces of Non-ſenſe that ever I have ſeen; and ſurely had I been in the Marqueſſes place, that very reſtriction in the cloſe, would have made me to forbear the putting in execution of any of his commands, for there was not a ſyllable of them all, but in due conſtruction was, or ought to have been againſt his Conſcience and Honour; ſure it was point blank oppoſite to his many Proteſtations, and that fearfull imprecation of his Damnation on his receiving the Sacrament

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at *Chriſt-Church*; and doubtleſſe in my underſtanding (all parts of this Letter conſidered) the very laſt clauſe of not being againſt Conſcience or Honour, would have been ſufficient warrant for me, to have ſate ſtill and done nothing towards the concluding of ſo Irreligious and diſhonourable a Peace; But I beſeech you look upon the Kings ends, and you ſhall find them to be no other, than in a brutiſh manner to ſet all his Subjects together by the ears, to kill and make havock of one anothea, *Engliſh* againſt *Engliſh*, *Scots* againſt *Scots*, and *Iriſh* againſt both, ſo that he might thereby accompliſh his own pernitious deſignes; And in the mean time to make no manner of ſcruple or Conſcience of ſpilling of Innocent bloud,& without the leaſt remorſe of that horrible Maſſacree of 200000 of the *Engliſh* Nation, butchered by thoſe barbarous Villains for whom he was ſo ſolicitous, to defend them,and to procure a happy peace for them whatſoever it coſt; and with ſo many wiles and fetches he had ſo often endeavoured to engage them to joyne with

with *Ormond* againſt *Inchiquine* and the *Scots*, as that you may evidently ſee in the Poſtſcript of his Letters to him, number 24. 1644. from *Oxford*, as alſo in his Commiſſions to *Montroſſe*, firſt to ruine the *Scots*, and after to come for his aſſiſtance into *England*.

Now that you may further underſtand what Conſcience he made of bloodſhed, and what care he had to preſerve his Subjects in Peace and Proſperity, I ſhall tell you another ſtory from the mouth of one of his principall Commanders (*Gerrard* by name) who upon the rendition of his *Oxford* Garriſon came to *London*, and made his addreſſes to Sir *John Merricke* at *Eſſex* houſe, deſiring him that he might have the Honour to kiſſe my Lord of *Eſſex* his hands, Sir *John* told him, That he had not behaved himſelf worthy of the name and honour of a Soldier, to be admitted to ſuch a favour, having barbarouſly burnt his Lordſhips houſe at *Lamphey*, together with moſt of the Gentlemens houſes of the County of Pembroke, and deſtroy-

ed the whole Country even to deſolation; *Gerrard* replies in his uſuall Oath, God damme me Uncle, if I did more than the King from *Cardiffe* by two ſeverall Letters ſtrictly commanded me to doe; and then to march to him with all my Army, for which I have his Majeſties owne Letters for my Warrant. Here is an excellent Conſcience, and care, in a King bound by his Oath to preſerve his Subjects from violence, and yet commanding to deſtroy them with fire and rapine.

Sir, in a few words more, would you be pleaſed, on an exact peruſall of all this moſt unhappy Kings Declarations and tranſactions, conſidered as you ſhall alwayes finde them, ſweetned and gilded over with the plauſible pretences, and ſpecious profeſſions of his love and care towards all his Subjects (when he meant nothing leſſe) and many of them confirmed with Imprecations; I ſay compare them diligently with his actions, and the Letters of his own hand writing (which of other evidences are the beſt keyes to unlock the ſecrets of mans heart

heart) not leaving out that *Poſthumus* Impoſture of his Pourtraicture, and I am confident that the contrariety, diſſimulation, hypocriſie, and juglings you ſhall every where finde in them, interwoven with a Phariſaicall juſtifying of himſelf, and defending all his actions, will aſtoniſh you, as they have done me; For in all the late horrid War and bloudſhed, throughout the three Kingdomes, you ſhall find it for an infallible truth, that he who ſpake and inſiſted ſo much on his Honour and Coſcience for many years together, never made any Conſcience, or was truely ſenſible of all the blood ſpilt either in his own behalf, or againſt him, more than of one wicked * Mans, though condemned by Law, and the juſt judgement of a Court of Parliament, and this man alſo acknowledged by himſelf to be uttterly unworthy to bear any publick office in the Common-wealth, and untill God in his Iuſtice turnd the power of his Sword to nothing, then indeed, and as I may judge (really) he ever now and anon deplores

* The of Sr ford.

the ſad condition of his Kingdomes, but never ſincerely (as I am bound to beleeve) till he had don his worſt, and all that poſſibly he could invent to ruine the Parliament, and to deſtroy all thoſe that ſtood up in their defence; And towards his laſt, his principall labour tended to little more than in pittying of himſelfe, and complaining of the hard meaſure offered him during his reſtraint, that he was not admitted to a Perſonall Treaty with the Parliament for the procuring (as he would have it beleeved) of a happy peace, when in all his Treatyes and ſpecious overtures from the firſt to the laſt, his hand was well known to be in one plot or other how to get himſelfe out of that toyle and Labyrinth wherein he had wilfully intangled himſelfe and the Kingdomes, being ſtill one and the ſelf ſame man, juſtifying himſelf, and ſtanding on his own innocency with the Phariſee, but little of the Publican, *God be merciſull to me a ſinner*; ſtill in his wonted inflexibility to the laſt, utterly refuſing to ſigne (onely) Four Bils for the publick ſecu-

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rity; continuing his uſuall pretences that they were againſt his Conſcience and Honour; When as all the Kingdome long ſince knew him to be preingaged to the Queen, and that by one word of her mouth, both his Honour and Conſcience would eaſily have been diſpenc'd withall: This I may truly and further affirm for a piece of a miracle, that ſomewhat before Gods juſt judgements overtook him (though not without a long conflict) he acknowledged himſelf guilty of all the War, and not without intreaties to a noble Perſon, on the firſt motion for a Treaty in the *Iſle of Wight*, That the Parliament would forbear to charge all the guilt of the blood ſpilt throughout the Kingdomes on his only ſcore, and on that condition he ſhould not be ſo uncivill, as to impute the leaſt guilt thereof on them; they were his own words, for that was a feare which much troubled him would be charged upon him, and well he might fear it, when his own Conſcience was a witneſſe againſt him; but in the mean time, ſuffer me to ask

you, how ſhall Almighty God be ſatisfied for ſo much bloud cauſleſly and willfully ſpilt throughout three Kingdoms, whoſe wrath cannot be appeaſed, neither the Land be cleanſed, untill expiation be made for the bloud of one man, by the ſhedding of his blood which was the murtherer? ſurely then we cannot determine, what accompt Almighty God will yet require at their hands which have been principall actors with the King in this bloody tragedy (though ſome of them, as he hath done, have paid their debts to Nature, and not a few by way of Compoſition) yet they alſo have juſt cauſe to fear that there is an accompt not yet cleared, which will be call'd upon: This I ſhall adde by the way of Queſtion, how and by what Fate this moſt unfortunate Prince came to be ſo overpowred with the Inchantments of a Woman, betwixt whom and himſelfe, it is well known, a good ſpace after their Inter-marriage, there were many jarres, and continued fallings out, and yet at laſt ſhe alone to become his Oracle for the

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leading on of all his deſignes; In ſo much as he durſt not offend her in the leaſt punctilio, or to tranſact any thing of never ſo little moment without her good liking, and approbation, and ſo much to dote on her, as not to permit the Prince to ſtir a foot, or to undertake any thing, but by her only direction, ſuch an abſolute power and command had this Queene gained over him and his affections; we may put the Quærie farther, why otherwiſe than by her Counſell, he firſt took away the Prince from his Guardians, and not long after the Duke of *Yorke*, and to ſend them beyond Sea, unleſſe it were out of an apprehenſion, that in imitation of former Preſidents, this Parliament might Crowne the one or the other Brother, inſtead of the Father, who had been ſo diſaſtrous to the Nation, as divers old preſidents of the like nature might probably induce him to ſuſpect out of his own guiltineſſe of his miſgovernment? as for inſtance the dethroning of *Edw.* the ſecond by the Parliament for his miſgovernment and bloody

reigne, and the advancing (in his life time) of his Son *Edward* the third, as alſo the depoſing of *Richard* the ſecond for his Tyranny, and the Parliaments ſetting up of *Bullingbrooke*, his Coſen German in his room; Preſidents which doubtleſſe hee deeply apprehended and feared, which to prevent 'tis moſt probable he ſent them out of the Kingdome, though to his own, and the utter undoing of thoſe Innocent Princes, which he had ſo far engaged in his bloody quarrell, that they became dyed in the ſame colour with their willfull Father. I ſhall now preſent you with a proof of the former aſſertion out of the Kings own Letter to the Prince from *Newcaſtle* Number 28. 1646. viz. Charls, *This is rather to tell you where I am in health, than at this time to direct you in any thing, I having ſo fully wrote to your Mother what I would have you to doe; whom I command you to obey in every thing, except Religion concerning which, I am confident ſhe will not trouble you; and ſee you goe not any whither, without hers or my particular directions.*

Ob-

Obſervation.

Here you may evidently ſee, by what Star not only himſelf and all his affairs were guided, but that his Sonne muſt be tied up, not to do any thing, or move, but by his Mothers or his owne particular directions; a very ſtrange obligation laid on a Sonne, to be bound to ſuch an abſolute obedience, as neceſſarily conduced to his utter undoing, when as no man knowes whether a Wife and a Mother, which had ſuch a latitude of power over the Father and the Sonne, would not be tampering with a Prince (even in the point of Religion) of ſo tender years as rendred him fit for any impreſſion, and to be indoctrinated with ſuch principles as well concerning Religion, as others beſt ſuitable to her own deſignes. But I beſeeeh you judge of the following texts, and tell me whether they ſuite not with this moſt unhappy Kings diſpoſition, & the wayes whereinto the inflexibility of his nature lead him to perſeve-

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rance, in purſuance of his own deſtruction.

He that ſpeaks unrighteous things cannot be hid, neither ſhall vengeance when it is puniſhed paſſe by him: For inquiſition ſhall be made into the Counſells of the ungodly, and the ſound of his words ſhall come unto the Lord for the manifeſtation of his wicked deeds. Wiſd. 1. 8, 9.

A Sinfull man will not be reproved, but findeth an excuſe according to his will: A man of Counſell will be conſiderate, but a ſtrange and a proud man is not daunted with fear, even when of himſelfe he hath done without Counſell. Eccleſ. 32. 17. 18.

But I have now little more to addreſſe unto you, yet more than I would, had not your provocations amounting to a plaine challenge invited me to anſwer your many virulent complaints, wherein I have inſerted very little more than what you may find expreſly laid downe either in the Kings owne Letters or Declarations, and with no other comments (as to the Obſervations) but ſuch as neceſſarily ariſe

ariſe out of the expreſſes themſelves; neither to any other ends, (as to the firſt part of my Reply, but for the clearing of truth, and to ſhew out unto you both the conſtitution of our late moſt unhappy King, and the manner and condition of all other Kings; I could have ſent you more, and God knows more terrible, bloody, and barbarous, but this is enough, though I ſay not to convince you, (for that would be no other than *lavare Æthiopem*) but to let you know how much you have been miſtaken in the late King, a Prince doubtleſſe which was much too dark for every ones underſtanding, and too hard for moſt of his Councel of State, whom he truſted with the mannagery of his greateſt both deſigns and ſecrets; though it be moſt true, that how tenacious and cloſe ſoever he was in carrying on that arbitrary worke to inſlave the Nation, yet God in his mercy would not that they ſhould be ſo ſecretly hidden, but that he had appointed a time when they ſhould be revealed and manifeſted to the World, as we all know they were

were at *Naſeby* and elſewhere, according to our bleſſed Saviours own oracle *Mat.*12.2. *For there is nothing covered that ſhall not be revealed, neither hid which ſhall not be knowne.*

God knowes, and ſo may you on your better conſideration, that I have made uſe of nothing but authentick authority, or took up any paſſage on bare truſt, neither with the leaſt intention to injure the memory of him who is at reſt, but only in vindication and manifeſtation of truth, and to make that more viſibly knowne to you, which long ſince hath not been unknowne to many, which happily if they would might ſpeak more, and that as this moſt unfortunate Prince was of all others moſt his owne enemy, ſo had providence decreed it, that he ſhould be moſt injurious to his friends, a moſt implacable enemy to Parliaments, and utterly averſe to all partnerſhip in government, other than Hers which was the principall inſtrument of his ruine, the undoing of his poſterity, and the lamentable deſtruction of three flouriſhing Kingdoms.

As

As to the preſent Government, and change of the Royalty, or any other of your impetuous exclamations, with the exceptions you take to the preſent Form, different from the forms of ancient Parliament, and as it was ſo lately altered, without King, Lords, and the major part of the excluded Commons, and that thoſe which now ſit at *Weſtminſter*, are no other than uſurped powers acting in Tyranny, as all of your party ſpares not to belch out both in private and publick, I ſhall inſtantly give you both a ſhort and ſatisfactory anſwer to every of them; and firſt to the Government, which you know to be gotten by Conqueſt, and as heretofore I have told you, by the ſame weapon wherewith the King intended to make it abſolutely Monarchicall, and *A la Francoys* As to the difference between the old and this new Form of Parliament, I anſwer, that the King himſelf was the firſt projector, both in leſſening, altering and laming of the Parliament, witneſſe his taking into his Councell of State the Earles of

of *Hartford*, *Eſſex*, *Bath*, the Lords *Say*, *St. Maur*, *Falkland*, and *Culpepper*, all of them known to be the moſt noted Common-wealths men of both Houſes, within two moneths of the Parliaments ſitting down, and within one year after to corrupt neer the moity of the Members of both Houſes, to make up his Mungrel Parliament at *Oxford*, of ſet purpoſe to confuſe and ruine all Parliaments by themſelves. As to the late purging of the Houſes, it is acknowledged that in the midſt of ſuch a confuſion as was both raiſed, cheriſhed and fomented by the King himſelf, and the Malignant party, it was done by the power of the Army, and as I take it on this ground, that the major part of both Houſes, voted for the readmittance of the King on ſuch condition which himſelf refuſed, which the leſſer and more foreſeeing part well underſtood would in the end come to no other iſſue, than the ſetting him up into his old power, ſo to enable him anew to embroyle the Kingdomes, having ſo long before engaged the Prince in his Quarrell, and

and diſciplin'd him in his deſignes, in ſo much as no other hopes were then left the Parliament, but either a perpetuating of the War and more blood-ſhed, or the invaſſalage of the Nation, which neceſſarily would be the conſequence, on the admittance either of the Father or the Sonne; upon theſe grounds 'tis confeſt, that the Soldiery ended the controverſie, in aſſiſting the weaker party in Parliament, though doubtleſſe the more able in judgement and foreſight of the future evills and calamities which in all probability might and would befall the Nation; which to prevent, on the evidence of the Kings obſtinacy, it was reſolved to remove the Effects, by taking away the Cauſe, in calling the principall Author of all the former blood-ſhed to his publick tryall, to ſtop which iſſue it was farther reſolved to cut him off, together with his whole poſterity, and to caſt that pilot overboard, that not more out of ignorance than wilfulneſſe, would obſtinately have ſunke the Ship of the Publick in the vaſt Ocean of his Prerogative, had it not been

been timely reſcued, and warp't into the ſafe Harbour of a Republick, and in change the Regall Government into a Commonwealth, as you now ſee it eſtabliſhed, by power, and by the ſame power, probable it is they will uphold it, which as it is commonly conceived, was the true ſtate and managery of that buſineſſe Where you may obſerve it, as a very remarkeable event, that even the major part of of both Houſes which had ſtood ſo conſtant to the truſt of their Countries, to the very Vote of *No more Addreſſes*, and were inclined to readmit the King (as we may beleeve by Gods juſt judgement) were taken away by force, as the King himſelfe by fraud had long before drawne away ſo many of the Members, purpoſly to lame and weaken all Parliaments in the future.

Sir, Theſe are paſſages of a very tranſcendant nature, and too high for our underſtanding, and we know Gods ways and works are unſearchable, yet
Eccl. 1. 9. as the * Wiſe man tells us, *There is nothing new under the Sun, and is there any thing whereof it may be ſaid, ſee, thi*

this is new? it hath been already of old time, and was before us: howſoever, when you have ſpoken the worſt you can of thoſe which now ſit in Parliament, you cannot deny but the moſt of them are of the old legall Election, and the relicts of the old Form, they which have been the cauſe of the maining, or leſſening the number and quality of the old Form, you may thanke them for it, and not blame thoſe that remaine faithfull to their truſt, for ſome kinde of Government the people muſt have, and you evidently ſee, that God hath given them both Courage to ſtand faſt to the laſt, and power to enable them to act as they do, which as heretofore I have told you wil either bend you to obedience, or breake you to your reſiſtance. As to the Injuſtice wherewith you charge them, and the Tyranny you ſo much exclaim againſt, I take not upon me to be ſo much their Champion, as to defend every of their Actions, or any Injuſtice, of which not unlikely ſome of them may be guilty; for where power is inveſted, faults there may be, and foule ones too; yet this

much may be said in their defence, that those of known integrity, fail not to look into the demeanour of the faulty, and by severe punishment to make them examples of Justice; I shall say no more, but that should they faile in doing righteousnesse, Judgement stands at their owne doores, and the same God which gave them the power they now have, will as soon devest them of it, as he bequeathed it unto them, and * *Samuel* will tell them; *If you do wickedly you shall be consumed both you and your King.* Now Sir, for a close, I shall onely tell you, that it sufficeth me and all sober spirits (that having thus long lived free from bloodshed and plunder under this Government, which so lately under the Kingly power the whole Nation felt to their great grief and sorrow) it behoves us then that we all rest content with God's good will and pleasure, and leave this great change to him, as a worke of his own, which, I may say with *Gamaliel*, *If it be not of God it will surely fall, but if from him, he will establish it, in spite of all those which shall withstand it*: tis

* 1 Sam. 12.15.

most

moſt true, that the Contributions and Taxes, which you urge to be tyrannically impoſed on the whole Nation, are very heavy; to which I have already given you an anſwer, *viz.* that we may all thanke your party for it, that they are not onely continued but increaſt through your partyes onely means, which ceaſe not by their aſſiduall plots to diſturbe the preſent peace and Government to their owne loſſe, and grief of ſuch as would willingly bear the burthen, ſo they might enjoy their peace and quietneſſe, as having learned the ſweetneſſe of that old Addage, *defend me, and ſpend me*. In a word more, I ſhall adviſe you in particular to reſt content with that Government which Providence hath allotted us, under which you may as yet live both ſecure and plentifull if you pleaſe, diſpoſe your ſelf therefore to yeeld that Obedience which becomes all thoſe that love the publick, and their own domeſtick peace; If not, I feare me you will kicke againſt the pricks, hurt, if not utterly ruine your ſelf and Family, as many thouſands

of perverse Fools have done, and fail not to remember, that there is a Court of Iustice that spares none which shall disturbe the publick peace, and that Government which we may safely beleeve, God hath and will establish.

This is the Counsell of him who really hath a care of your preservation, and, so rests,

Your well-wishing Friend if you so please to esteem him.

Lo this is the man that made not God his strength, but trusted in the abundance of his riches, and strengthned himselfe in his wickednesse. Ps 52. 7.

The words of his mouth were smoother than Butter, but war was in his heart, his words were softer than oyle, yet were they drawn Swords. Psalm 55. 21.

But thou O Lord shalt bring them downe into the pit of destruction, bloody and deceitfull men shall not live out halfe their dayes. verse 23.

FINIS.